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CENTENNIAL PAPERS

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE

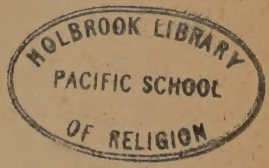
GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

OF

CONNECTICUT.



HARTFORD:

PRESS OF THE CASE, LOCKWOOD & BRAINARD COMPANY.

1877.

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INTRODUCTION.

At the eighth annual meeting of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut, convened in Park church, Norwich, November 9, 1875, on the recommendation of ths Standing Committee, it was

Resolved, That at the General Conference of 1876, two historical discourses be delivered, on successive evenings, referring in part, at least, to the relations of the Congregational churches of Connecticut to the civil government, and to popular education and social reforms; one of these discourses to cover the period preceding the declaration of independence; the other, the period subsequent to that event.

Rev. Leonard Bacon was appointed to deliver the first of these discourses, and Rev. Myron N. Morris, the second.

At the ninth annual meeting of the General Conference, convened in the First church, New Haven, November 14, 1876, a committee of the General Association presented an overture relating to a paper on the ministers of Connecticut in the revolution, and it was

Resolved, That the General Conference will accept and publish the paper on the ministers of Connecticut in the revolution, prepared under the direction of the General Association, and offered to us by a committee of that body.

On Tuesday evening, November 14, Rev. Leonard Bacon delivered a historical discourse, and on Wednesday evening, November 15, Rev. Myron N. Morris delivered a historical discourse, thus fulfilling the appointments made for them by the General Conference in 1875.

On Thursday evening, November 16, the last evening of the annual meeting, by an arrangement of the Standing Committee, several brief addresses were given upon assigned topics, including one by Rev. Joseph Anderson, and one by Prof. Cyrus Northrop.

The printing committee, under instructions from the General Conference, decided to group, in one bound volume, the paper accepted from the General Association, the discourses of Messrs. Bacon and Morris, and the addresses of Messrs. Anderson and Northrop, with an index prepared by the Registrar of the General Conference, and to issue and distribute fifteen hundred copies of the book.

WILLIAM H. MOORE, *Registrar*.

HARTFORD, June 15, 1877.

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THE

MINISTERS OF CONNECTICUT

IN

THE REVOLUTION.

THE

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY THE

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT.

BY

WM. CHAUNCEY FOWLER, LL.D.

"A vestal state, which power could not subdue,
Nor promise win—like her own eagle's nest,
Sacred—the San Marino of the west."
—HALLECK.

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PREFACE.

At the meeting of the General Association in Danbury, June 16, 1875, the following committee was appointed "On the Ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution," namely: Leonard Bacon, Henry Jones, Dennis Platt, Leverett Griggs, Samuel Rockwell, William Thompson, Adam Reid, John Churchill, Anson C. Beach, William C. Fowler, Joel Mann, Hiram P. Arms, Abram Marsh, Joseph Ayer.

Leonard Bacon was made chairman of this committee.

At the meeting of the General Association at Norwalk, June 20, 1876, the committee of 1875, "On the Ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution," presented a report, which was accepted and discussed, and it was

Resolved, That William C. Fowler is hereby instructed, in conference with the registrar, to condense the materials presented, and publish them in the Minutes, or, if too voluminous, in some religious periodical, or in any manner that may seem to them advisable.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

THE MINISTERS OF CONNECTICUT IN THE REVOLUTION.

If we would take a correct view of the "Ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution," it is necessary to look at the historical position of the Order, both before and after that era; just as in viewing an object with the bodily eye, it is necessary to look at the field of vision in which that object is placed.

The earliest ministers of Connecticut, in learning, general intelligence, good manners, and Christian graces, were superior to the congregations that followed them into these parts. Society being then in its elements, they very naturally, in the new order of things then instituted, had the pre-eminence. The universal cry of the people was, "To the worthiest!" To the ministers, therefore, as the worthiest, the leadership of the people was given. One of these leaders, Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford, described Congregationalism as a "speaking *aristocracy* in the face of a silent *democracy*."

In the "Assembly of Divines' Catechism" is the following question and answer: "What is required in the fifth commandment? The fifth commandment requireth the preserving the honor, and performing the duties belonging to every one in their several places and relations, as superiors, inferiors, or equals."

They continued to be leaders of the people from 1636 down to 1776, during the Revolution and afterwards, because they continued to be superior to them in learning, general intelligence, good manners, and Christian virtues. They had that knowledge which is power, and that goodness which is wisdom, for using the power for noble ends.

In Roman Catholic England, down into the reign of Henry the VIII, the people distributed large measures of veneration

and love to popes, cardinals, bishops, and the inferior clergy. In Protestant Episcopal England, during the reign of Elizabeth and James I, and afterwards, the people distributed veneration and love to archbishops, rectors, and deacons. In Puritan Connecticut, the people of the several congregations concentrated their veneration and love upon their own minister, as the accredited "ambassador for Christ," and clothed with his authority.

The earliest ministers were educated in the best institutions of learning in England. After they passed off the stage of human action, the ministers succeeding them received their education at Harvard College for sixty years or more, and subsequently to 1700, generally at Yale College.

An examination of the history of the times would show how it was that the "Ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution" should be much the same in principles and character, as the ministers of Connecticut had been from 1776 back to 1636, when the first English settlers established themselves at Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor. Within that period most of those who were destined for the pulpit pursued classical studies, at first under some minister, with whom they were fitted for college, and afterwards in the college founded by the ministers. Under the guidance of the older ministers, many of them studied the same text books in theology, and when settled in the ministry pursued the same course of instruction with their people that the older ministers did.

The ministers of Connecticut were strongly inclined to educate their own successors in the ministry. They were not disposed to permit tramps in the highways and by-ways, or religious squatters and gypsies to establish themselves on the public domain. It was a beautiful custom among the churches of Connecticut that when a minister died, his place was supplied for a number of Sabbaths by the members of the Association. These visits were like balm to the bereaved hearts of the wife and family, if there were any, and it gave the Association an opportunity of knowing what was the condition of the parish, and enabled the committee of the Association, appointed for the purpose, to recommend a suitable

candidate to the destitute church for settlement. In this way it often happened that the Association could fill its own vacancies with men of its own stamp, and thus promote a uniformity of faith and practice. From President Dwight we have this statement. See Travels, vol. iv, p. 413: "The progress of every clergyman in the State of Connecticut until he arrives at the desk, is the following:

"From infancy to manhood his whole character is subjected to the inspection of his parents, of his school-master, of the parish in which he is born and bred, of the government, of the college in which he is educated, of the church to which he is united, and of the clergyman by whom he is instructed in theology. The inspection of the parish is here a serious object; for in no country is personal character so minutely scrutinized, or so well known, as in Connecticut. After his preparatory studies in theology are ended, he is licensed to preach; and whenever he finds a congregation sufficiently pleasing to him to render his settlement in it desirable, he is ordained, and has the congregation committed to his care. During every part of this progress he is subjected to a series of strict examinations concerning his character, conduct, and improvements."

Again, see idem, p. 420:

"The clergy of Connecticut have no power, but they have much influence—an influence which every sober man must feel to be altogether desirable in every community. It is the influence of wisdom and virtue. Clergymen, here, are respected for what they are, and for what they do, and not for anything adventitious to themselves, or their office."

During the long period of one hundred and forty years, all the ministers of Connecticut inherited their principles from the Puritans who arose in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but, in the application of these principles, they became more and more American, and less and less English. Thus Nathan Strong, of Hartford, in 1776, was less English and more American than Thomas Hooker in 1636. Thus, too, Chauncey Whittlesey, of New Haven, was less English and more American than John Davenport. Thus we see how it was

that the ministers of Connecticut, at any one epoch, were one in habits and character, and how this oneness was transmitted from generation to generation, and how something of this oneness was extended to the whole population. This oneness was such that sometimes there seemed through the commonwealth to be a common sensorium, and common impressions on that sensorium, and common deductions from those impressions, and a common will to carry out these deductions into action. Thus the great problem of public unity of action was wrought out by the workings of individual minds.

The people heard the same doctrines on the Sabbath, the same sort of instruction in all their public schools. Each Sabbath they all went to the house of God, which they filled, sometimes to overflowing, the young ones covering the pulpit stairs. On each day they rose with the early dawn, to say their prayers and to eat their breakfast in the "sweet hour of prime," and having labored during the day, they retired early to bed at the summons of the New England curfew bell.

Their matins and vespers were not performed under the dome of some lofty cathedral, whose windows cast a "dim religious light" upon the worshipers, but under their own roof-tree, however humble, in the gray of the morning, or in the glimmering taper's light in the evening; while the husband and father was the priest at the altar. Three times a day the family, at their meals, craved a blessing and returned thanks. Family religion was urged and promoted by the clergy, and was evidenced by the general and almost universal practice of the families. As the saint, the father and the husband prayed, the feelings of devotion were mingled with the finest of human affection. Pure-eyed faith, white-handed hope, and the unblemished form of charity were there, to reveal the mansion reserved for that family in their Father's house in the heavens, to point them to the seat reserved for each, and to be themselves the companions on their way thither.

In the temple worship, under the Mosaic dispensation,

there was in the Holy of Holies the Shekinah, or visible brightness or presence of God. At the family altar, under the Christian dispensation, "a glory gilds the sacred page, majestic like the sun." In the former dispensation the high priest beheld the Shekinah once a year. In the latter, that "glory" can be seen by the family priest every day in the year.

These family attachments culminated at the annual Thanksgiving, when descendants returned to the house of the patriarch from their several homes in the neighborhood, numbering sometimes three generations. The Puritan settlers of New England substituted Thanksgiving for the Christmas of "merry England," as a family institution. They sometimes reinforced the usual feast with the turkey, an American bird: replacing the mince pies with pumpkin pies, and the wassail bowl with the mug of flip with its high head of foam; sometimes closing off the festive week on Saturday night with the American dish, celebrated by Barlow in his sprightly poem, entitled "Hasty Pudding."

Their town-meetings, "proxies," or freemen's meetings, and other public gatherings, were opened with prayer by the minister. The population could rest securely with unbarred doors. Thus we see how it happened that Connecticut for a long time was known as "THE LAND OF STEADY HABITS."

These "steady habits" resulted from the teachings of ministers, or from the institutions and books approved by them. Under their leadership district schools were established. They examined the teachers; they recommended the books to be used, and they visited the schools from time to time.

Each school was a little world in itself, in which laws were made, rewards bestowed, and punishments inflicted. The youth, here, could learn to see the workings in each other's hearts as distinctly as they could see the flash of light in the eye, and the flush of blood in the cheek. They read the New England Primer, with its rude cuts, its curt, solemn sayings, and its doctrinal catechism. At home, some of them read Poor Richard's Almanac, inspired by Benjamin Franklin, and learned its homely and prudent maxims. At fune-

rals, large numbers went to the graveyard, the "school of mortality," so called by Watts, to learn the lessons of virtue from the great teacher, Death. The solitary wanderer, too, would often visit the same school, to see the quaint devices, and read the short inscriptions, and then to lay his offering on the "cold turf altar of the dead," thus preparing himself to transmit to the future what is venerable in the past.

It should also be remembered that ministers were eminently instrumental in establishing town libraries, in which valuable standard works of the best English authors were placed for the use of those of their congregations who could relish them. These libraries were of the greatest service in promoting a high tone of thought and sentiment among the people.

If we could go back by a single bound to the period of the Revolution, or if one of the actors in the scenes of that period could rise from the dead, we could know more fully what the ministers of Connecticut were in the Revolution. Indeed, if some of us sixty or seventy years ago had opened our ears and our minds, as we might have done, to actors in those scenes, that were then living, we might do better justice to those ministers. Social life was then rife with Revolutionary traditions. The events of the war of the Revolution furnished the staple for conversation in families and at public gatherings. The old soldier had a hearty welcome, whether he described dangers and defeat to which he had been exposed, or "shouldered his crutch and showed how fields were won." Revolutionary stories cheered the labors of the field, and Revolutionary songs were sung by the young maiden to her step, as she turned the spinning-wheel. Where are now those actors and those narrators? "Gone, glimmering through the dream of things that were." Their traditionary voices, once so clear and strong, are now, if not hushed into silence, prolonged only by faint echoes.

The ministers of Connecticut were not parasites on the body politic. They were not like the mistletoe, which derives its support from the oak, and contributes nothing in return. They were not like the leech on the human body, which gorges itself at the expense of that body. They were, on the

other hand, an organic part of the body politic. They were eyes to the blind and feet to the lame. They were the teachers and shepherds of the people.

I have spoken of the principles of the English Puritans. Hume, the historian of England, in his 4th volume, uses the following language: "So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous, and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."

The Puritans who came to New England brought in their censers this fire, which was afterwards to spread over a continent.

Thomas Hooker and his followers, who settled on the banks of the long river in 1636, brought with them discontent with the ecclesiastical and civil government of England, and a strong desire to frame an ecclesiastical and civil government of their own, under which they could make their own local laws. Liberty, in their estimation, consisted in local self-government. The same is true of John Davenport, and those who settled on the shores of the broad sound.

When the two colonies were united under the charter of 1662, there continued to be the same love of local law and local self-government, and the same dislike of imperial law and of the government of Great Britain as before.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CHARTER.

The inhabitants of this colony "shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the dominions of us, our heirs or successors, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England. And also from time to time to make, ordain and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, statutes, ordinances, directions and instructions, not contrary to the laws of this realm of England, as well for settling the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary

for the said plantation and the inhabitants there, as for naming and styling all sorts of officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall find needful for the government and plantation of the said colony, and distinguishing and setting forth of several duties, powers, and limits of every such office and place, and the forms of such oaths, not being contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, to be administered for the execution of the said several offices and places." Thus the colony of Connecticut could claim all the rights of native-born Englishmen, and all the additional rights conferred by the charter. The laws made by the colony were subject to this limitation, namely, that they must "not be contrary to the laws of England." By the charter, the laws of England were paramount to the local laws of the colony. In practice, the laws of the colony were regarded by the colonists as paramount to the laws of England.

The emigrant ministers from England to Connecticut, and their successors, found their love of liberty increasing rather than diminishing from generation to generation. The liberty which they tasted in the New World gave them an appetite for more. In this "wilderness of free minds," far removed from the inspecting eye of the mother country, their hopes of obtaining more grew stronger. Besides being educated in the Greek and Roman classics, which inspire the young student with a love of liberty, they were, many of them, while in professional life, familiar with the best writings of the English Puritans. They read more or less of Milton, the great Puritan poet, and they found in their experience, that "books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them, to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are." From him they caught something of his burning hatred of tyranny.

His hatred of tyranny was such that he put the tyrant in the same category with the devil, "and, with necessity, the tyrant's plea excused his devilish deeds."

Such was his hatred of personal government, or arbitrary power, that he speaks of it as "the foul fiend discretion."

They studied Locke, the great apostle of liberty, in his

day, with the same admiring spirit in which Dr. Watts describes him in his lyric poems:

"Locke has a soul wide as the sea,
Calm as the night, bright as the day,
There may my vast ideas play,
Nor feel a thought confined."

They read with enthusiasm the works of Dr. Watts, who, in one of his poems, could say,

"My soul can ne'er comport
With the gay slaveries of a court;
I've an aversion to those charms,
And hug dear Liberty in both mine arms."

It is remarkable that from the first to the last, while they were jealous of Parliament, the law-making power, they professed to entertain affection and loyalty for the king. King Charles II had granted the colony a very liberal charter, in which they rejoiced. In the correspondence between the king and the colonial legislature, there appears to be only mutual kindness and good-will. Thus, between that legislature and Charles II, William and Mary, William III, Queen Anne, and some of the Georges, the correspondence appears to have been entirely satisfactory on both sides.

The following is a specimen of that correspondence:

A Letter from His Majesty Charles II, to the Governor and Council of the Colony of Connecticut, April 10, 1666*:*

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well, having rec'd soe full and satisfactory an account from our commissioners, both of the good reception you have given them, and also of your dutifullness and obedience to us, we cannot but let you know how much we are pleased therewith, judging that respect of yours towards our officers, to be the true and naturall fruit which demonstrates what fidelity and affection towards us is rooted in your hearts, and although your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our prayse and approbation, yet it seems to be sett off with the more lustre, by the contrary deportment of the Colony of the Massachusetts, as if by their refractorinesse they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your complyance with our directions, for the peacable and good government of our subjects in those parts."

The following is an exact copy from Hinman's Antiquities of Connecticut, p. 366:

Anno Regni Regis Georgii tertii 14th.

At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America, holden at New Haven in said Colony on the second Thursday of October, being the 13th day of said month and continued by several adjournments to the fourth day of November next following Annoq. Dom. 1774.

By the House of Representatives of the English Colony of Connecticut, second Thursday of May 1774.

This House taking into serious consideration sundry acts of the British Parliament in which the power and right to impose duties and taxes upon His Majesties subjects in the British Colonies and Plantations in America, for the purpose of raising a Revenue only, are declared, attempted to be exercised and in various ways enforced and carried into execution, and especially a very late act, in which pains and penalties are inflicted on the capital of a neighboring Province, a precedent justly allarming to every British Colony in America, and which being admitted and established, their lives, liberties and properties are at the mercy of a Tribunal where innocence may be punished upon the accusation and evidence of wicked men without defence and even without knowing its accusers, a precedent calculated to terrify them into silence and submission, whilst they are stripped of their invaluable rights and liberties, do think it expedient and their duty at this time to renew their claim to the rights, privileges and immunities of free born Englishmen, to which they are justly entitled, by the laws of nature, by the Royal Grant and Charter of his late Majesty King Charles the second, and by long and uninterrupted possession, and thereupon do declare and Resolve as follows to wit —

In the first place we do most expressly declare, recognize and acknowledge His Majesty George the Third to be the lawful and rightful King of Great Britain and all other his dominions and countries, and that it is the indispensable duty of the people of this Colony, as being part of his Majesties dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all attempts upon his person, crown and dignity.

2. That the subjects of his Majesty in this Colony ever have had, and of right ought to have and enjoy all the liberties, immunities and privileges of free and natural born subjects, within any of the dominions of our said King, his heirs and successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever as fully and amply, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England, that they have a property in their own estate, and are to be taxed by their own consent only, given in person or by their Representatives, and are not to be disseized of their liberties or free customs, sentenced or condemned, but by lawful judgment of their Peers, and that the said rights and immunities are recognized and confirmed to the inhabitants of this Colony by the Royal

Grant and Charter aforesaid, and are their undoubted rights to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.

3. That the only lawful Representatives of the Freemen of this Colony, are the persons they elect to serve as members of the General Assembly thereof.

4. That it is the just right and privilege of His Majesties leige subjects of this Colony to be Governed by their General Assembly in the article of taxing and internal police, agreeable to the powers and privileges recognized and confirmed in the Royal Charter aforesaid, which they have enjoyed for more than a century past, and have neither forfeited nor surrendered, but the same have been constantly recognized by the King and Parliament of Great Britain.

5. That the erecting new and unusual courts of Admiralty, and vesting them with extraordinary powers above, and not subject to the controll of the common law courts in this Colony, to judge and determine in suits relating to the duties and forfeitures contained in said acts, foreign to the accustomed and established jurisdiction of the former courts of Admiralty in America, is in the opinion of this House, highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majesty's American subjects, contrary to the great Charter of English liberty, and destructive of one of their most darling rights; that of tryal by Jurors, which is justly esteemed one chief excellence of the British constitution, and a principal bulwark of English liberty.

6. That the apprehending and carrying persons beyond the sea to be tryed for any crime alleged to be committed within this Colony in a summary way without a jury, is unconstitutional and subversive of the liberties and rights of the free subjects of this Colony.

7. That any Harbors or Ports duly opened and constituted cannot be shut up and discharged but by an act of the Legislature of the Province or Colony on which such Port or Harbor is situated without subverting the rights and liberties and destroying the property of his Majesty's subjects.

8. That the late act of Parliament inflicting pains and penalties on the town of Boston by blocking their harbor is a precedent justly alarming to the British colonies in America, and wholly inconsistent with, and subversive of their constitutional rights and liberties.

9. That whenever his Majesties service shall require the aid of the inhabitants of this Colony, the same fixed principles of Loyalty, as well as self preservation which have hitherto induced us fully to comply with His Majesties requisitions, together with the deep sense we have of its being our indispensable duty, in the opinion of this House, will ever hold us under the strongest obligations which can be given or desired most cheerfully to grant His Majesty, from time to time, our further proportion of men and money, for the defence, protection, security and other services of the British American dominions.

10. That we look upon the well being and greatest security of this

Colony to depend (under God) on our connections with Great Britain which is ardently wished may continue to the latest posterity; and that it is the humble opinion of this House, that the constitution of this Colony being understood and practiced upon as it has ever since it existed till very lately, is the surest bond of union, confidence and mutual prosperity of our mother country and us, and the best test foundation on which to build the good of the whole, whether considered in a civil, military or mercantile light; and of the truth of this opinion, we are the more confident, as it is not founded on speculation only, but has been verified in fact, and by long experience found to produce according to our extent and other circumstances, as many loyal, virtuous, industrious and well governed subjects as any part of his Majesty's dominions, and as truly zealous, and as warmly engaged to promote the best good and real glory of the grand whole, which constitutes the British empire.

11. That it is an indispensible duty which we owe to our King, our Country, ourselves and our posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend and preserve these our rights and liberties, and to transmit them entire and inviolate to the latest generations, and that it is our fixed, determined and unaltered resolution faithfully to discharge this our duty.

In the Lower House the foregoing resolutions being read distinctly, three several times and considered, were voted and passed with great unanimity; and it is further voted and requested by this House, that the same be entered on the records and remain on the files of the General Assembly of this Colony.

Test: WILLIAMS, *Clerk, H. R.*

In the Upper House the consideration of the request of the Lower House, that the aforesaid resolutions should be entered on the records of the Assembly &c., is referred to the General Assembly to be holden at New Haven, on the second Thursday of October next.

Test: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

In the Upper House on further consideration, &c., it is agreed and consented to, that the foregoing resolutions, according to the request of the Lower House be entered on the records, and remain on the files of the General Assembly of this colony.

Test: GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

This document, dated November 4, 1774, shows what were the views and temper of the colony at that time, which was only one year and eight months before the Declaration of Independence was published to the world.

If the colonists of Connecticut opened the Bible, whether in the house of God or at home, they found that they owed this translation to King James I, "the principal mover and author thereof." In the text they saw the two commands, side by side, "Fear God; Honor the King." They saw on the title-page, emblazoned, the armorial bearings of Great Britain, with the grand motto *Dieu et mon droit; Honi soit qui mal y pense.* God and my right; evil to him who evil thinks. If their favorite lyric poet, Dr. Watts, could eulogize King William and Queen Anne in the highest strains of his verse, as he does in the lyric poems then read by all the ministers and most of the people, we need not feel surprised that those ministers should eulogize them in speaking to their people. In the house of God prayers for the king and the royal family went up from the public altar. The king's name was connected with many of the forms of law and the king's attorney in Connecticut had his appropriate duties.

The ministers, then accustomed to study carefully the history of England, looked back to the time when the earth trembled beneath the tread of the bold crusaders under the lion-hearted King Richard, who went to Palestine to wrest the holy sepulcher from the Saracens; to the "foughten fields" of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, where, under the conduct of kings and princes of England, the pride of France was humbled, and where the bones of their own ancestors were now lying with the named and nameless dead; or they might look, with softened hearts, to the church-yards of England, where their ancestors were reposing beneath the shadows of minsters and cathedrals, in which they once worshiped God. Some of them might have been accustomed every day at family prayers to send up supplications to the King of Kings, for a blessing on the king of England and the royal family, or perhaps some of them might every day have seen, in their own parlors, pictures of some of the royal family. The very coin used as a circulating medium from hand to hand, bore on it the image and superscription of the king.

Under the influence of recollections and impressions like these, some of them may have shrunk back in pain at the idea of a political separation from England, their mother country. "The flesh will quiver where the pincers tear."

It ought to be added that in Connecticut there was a considerable number of intelligent and worthy men, and some of these were Congregational ministers, who, from the first to the last, were loyal to the English king, and opposed to the Revolution, which separated Connecticut and the other colonies from England.

Until a short period before 1776, the people of Connecticut generally neither expected nor desired a political separation from England. Proof of this we have in the foregoing legislative document. What was the cause of the general movement in favor of the Revolution in 1776? It was a generous fellow-feeling for Massachusetts. If, then, it should be insinuated that Connecticut trotted after the "Bay horse," it might be said in reply, that the interests of Connecticut were so allied with the interests of Massachusetts, that if the latter should be left unassisted to be prostrated in the dust, the former might be the next victim of ministerial vengeance.

Whenever there is public danger, every Christian people, under the lead of their best men, should fly to the All-wise, the All-good, and the All-powerful for deliverance.

The people of Connecticut, from 1636 to 1783, under the lead of their ministers, in seasons of danger, sought Him who controls the destinies of nations, and who led Israel by the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night. Especially was this true from 1775, when the fires of revolution on the fields of Lexington and Bunker Hill ascended to the skies, shedding a lurid light over this quarter of the world, to 1783, when, by treaty, the king of England acknowledged Connecticut to be, what she claimed to be, a "free and independent state."

It is to be remembered that, during the French Wars, for a period before the Revolution, the Connecticut officers and Connecticut troops were associated with British officers and British troops in a common cause against the French. In

this cause they were successful; and as a fruit of their success the whole of Canada was ceded by the French to the English in 1763, by the treaty of Paris. Connecticut came in for her share of the glory acquired by England in these wars. Among the officers who distinguished themselves in these wars, were Major-General Phinehas Lyman, Colonel Israel Putnam, Colonel Nathaniel Whiting, Colonel Samuel Holden Parsons, Colonel Eliphalet Dyer, General Joseph Spencer, General Roger Wolcott, Colonel Elihu Chauncey, and others.

It is also to be remembered that Connecticut, in common with the other colonies, had warm and strong friends in the British Parliament, who were ready to defend the constitutional rights of the Americans, but were opposed to their political separation from the mother country.

The sentiments in favor of royalty filled the hearts of the people, and phrases of loyalty were familiar to their lips. These feelings were experienced and this language expressed, sometimes even after the war was over, as may be seen from the following anecdote:

"A boy in the town of Lebanon heard that General Washington was to pass that way, and went out to meet him, as he supposed, at the head of his army. Instead of that, he met a man alone, on horseback, of whom he inquired if General Washington was coming. The General replied, 'I am the man.' In astonishment, the boy, not knowing what to do or say, pulled off his hat, and with great violence threw it at the feet of the horse, running back at the same time at full speed, and crying at the top of his voice, "God Almighty bless your Majesty!" (See Family Memorial, by Rev. Dan. Huntington, p. 6.)

The American Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1765. The people of the colony were opposed to the Stamp Act, but the Governor and Legislature were not disposed to take very strong ground against it. "Rev. Stephen Johnson, of Lyme, seeing with pain the dangerous lethargy that had lulled the judges to sleep, and had taken strong hold of the council, began to write essays for the *Connecticut Ga-*

zette, printed in New London, which he sent secretly to the printer by the hands of an Irish gentleman who was friendly to the cause of liberty." * * "Other clergymen took up the warfare. They impugned the Stamp Act in their sermons; they classed its loathed name in their prayers with those of sin, Satan, and the mammon of unrighteousness. The people were soon roused to a sense of danger. The flames of opposition, so long suppressed, now began to break forth. The name of "Sons of Liberty," given by Colonel Barre to the Americans, was adopted by the press, and sent to every part of the country. Societies, originating, as is believed, in Connecticut, and made up of men the most bold, if not the most responsible in the land, were suddenly formed, for the express, though secret, purpose of resisting the Stamp Act by violent means, should it become necessary. The members of these associations were called "Sons of Liberty." The principal business reserved for them was that of compelling stamp masters and other officials to resign their places. They were also to see that no stamps were sold in the colony, and that all stamped paper should be taken wherever it could be found. This powerful institution soon extended itself into New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey." (See Hollister's History of Connecticut, vol. ii, p. 130--1.)

Such was the strong opposition made to the Stamp Act in the colonies, that Parliament repealed it in 1766.

"When the tidings of the 'Boston Port Bill' reached Connecticut in May, 1774, the General Assembly was in session. A day of humiliation and prayer was ordered, on account of the threatening aspects of Divine Providence, on the liberties of the people, that they might call upon 'the God of all mercies to avert His judgments.'" (See Hollister, vol. ii, p. 152.)

On this day of humiliation and prayer it was, doubtless, expected by the General Assembly that the ministers would address their people in strong terms in favor of liberty, and in opposition to the tyrannical encroachments of England.

"DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"*Act of Connecticut, June 14th*, 1776.

"At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America, holden at Hartford, in said Colony, by special order of the Governor, on the 14th day of June, A. Dom., 1776.

"WHEREAS the King and Parliament of Great Britain, by many acts of said Parliament have claimed and attempted to exercise powers incompatible with, and subversive of the ancient, just, and constitutional rights of this and the rest of the English Colonies in America, and have refused to listen to the many and frequent, humble, decent and dutiful petitions of redress of grievances and restoration of such their rights and liberties, and turning from them with neglect and contempt to support such claims, after a series of accumulated wrong and injury, have proceeded to invade said Colonies with Fleets and Armies, to destroy our towns, shed the blood of our countrymen, and involve us in the calamities incident to war; and are endeavoring to reduce us to an abject surrender of our natural and stipulated rights, and subject our property to the most precarious dependence on their arbitrary will and pleasure, and our persons to slavery, and at length have declared us out of the King's protection, have engaged foreign mercenaries against us, and are evidently and strenuously seeking our ruin and destruction.

"These and many other transactions, too well known to need enumeration; the painful experience and effects of which we have suffered and feel, make it evident, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we have nothing to hope from the justice, humanity or temperate councils of the British King or his Parliament, and that all hopes of a reconciliation, upon just and equal terms, are delusory and vain. In this state of extreme danger, when no alternative is left us but absolute and indefinite submission to such claims as must terminate in the extreme of misery and wretchedness, or a total separation from the King of Great Britain, and renunciation of all connection with that nation, and a successful resistance to that force which is intended to effect our destruction. Appealing to that God who knows the secrets of all hearts, for the sincerity of former declarations of our desire to preserve our ancient and constitutional relation to that nation, and protesting solemnly against their oppression and injustice, which have driven us from them, and compelled us to use such means as God in his providence hath put in our power, for our necessary defense and preservation—

"*Resolved* unanimously by this Assembly, that the Delegates of this Colony in General Congress, be, and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies, free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such Declaration, when they shall judge it expedient and best, and to whatever means

may be tho't proper and necessary by the Congress, for forming foreign alliances, or any plan of operations for necessary and mutual defense: and also that they move and promote, as fast as may be convenient, a regular and permanent plan of union and confederation of the Colonies for the security and preservation of their just rights and liberties, and for mutual defense and security—saving that the administration of Government and the power ought to be left and remain to the respective Colonial Legislatures; and that such plan be submitted to the respective Legislatures for their previous consideration and assent."

Thus it appears that Connecticut, June 14th, 1776, virtually declared herself independent twenty days before the date of the formal Declaration of Independence, prepared by the Continental Congress.

It is remarkable that she puts in the proviso at the close, namely, "that the administration of government and the power ought to be left and remain to the respective colonial legislatures; and that such plan be submitted to the respective legislatures for their previous consideration and assent."

Connecticut proceeded firmly, but cautiously.

I. We have already adverted to the influence of the ministers in producing opposition to the Stamp Act, and thus producing its repeal by the British Parliament. In addition to what has been said, it should be borne in mind that the Governor of the State and the General Assembly did not encourage the doings of the mob which compelled the stamp-master, Jared Ingersoll, to resign his office. The mob and its considerate doings may be accounted for by the supposition that it grew out of the opposition of the ministers to the Stamp Act.

So too, as already mentioned, "when the tidings of the 'Boston Port Bill' reached Connecticut in May, 1774, the General Assembly ordered a day of humiliation and prayer, on which the ministers could address the people.

"The Congregational ministers saw further into the designs of the British administration than the bulk of the colony, and by their publications and conversation increased and strengthened the opposition." (Gordon's Independence of America, vol. i, p. 168.)

II. For a hundred and forty years the ministers of Con-

necticut had been educating the people in the family, in the church, in the common schools, sometimes in schools in their houses, and in Harvard and Yale Colleges, for the attainment and enjoyment of liberty. And, though the Declaration of Independence was made sooner, perhaps, than some of them expected, the people were not unprepared. Roger Sherman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the deacon of a Congregational church in New Milford. William Williams, another signer of that Declaration, was the son of a Congregational minister in Lebanon, a graduate of Harvard College, and himself a deacon of the church. Samuel Huntington, another signer, was a member of the Congregational church in Norwich, and was "mouth to the people when destitute of preaching." Oliver Wolcott was a member of the Congregational church in Litchfield, and a graduate of Yale College. Oliver Ellsworth, who took so prominent a part in framing the present Federal Constitution of the United States, was a graduate of New Jersey college, and, for a year, a student in theology. Deacon Roger Sherman, already mentioned, was another framer of the Constitution. William Samuel Johnson, another framer of the Constitution, was the son of a minister, and a graduate of Yale College.

Jonathan Trumbull was for several years a preacher of the gospel. From the adopted daughter of General Washington, I learned, in 1816, that the Christian idea entered into the mind of Washington when he often spoke of Governor Trumbull as "Brother Jonathan."

Major-General Israel Putnam was an exemplary member of the Congregational church. Major-General Samuel Holden Parsons, a graduate of Harvard College, was son of a Congregational minister of Connecticut. Major-General James Wadsworth was an earnest supporter of religious institutions, and a graduate of Yale College. Major-General David Wooster was a graduate of Yale College. Major-General Jabez Huntington was a graduate of Yale College. Silas Deane was a graduate of Yale College.

Of the twenty-five members of the Continental Congress sent by Connecticut, twenty-one were graduates of some col-

lege, and seventeen of Yale College—reckoning from 1765 to 1787.

Another class of men should be mentioned, namely: Timothy Dwight, poet, chaplain in the army, and preacher; John Trumbull, son of Governor Trumbull, a painter, and aide-de-camp of Washington; John Trumbull, son of Rev. John Trumbull, and author of "McFingal;" Joel Barlow, a graduate of Yale College, poet, and chaplain in the army; David Humphreys, a son of a minister, a graduate of Yale College, poet, diplomatist, and aide-de-camp of General Washington.

Another distinguished graduate of Yale College was Nathan Hale, the blessed martyr, who in standing face to face with death, could exclaim in the devotion of his patriotism, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Besides these greater lights, there were lesser lights scattered throughout the whole colony. Indeed, every town had its own constellation, the leading star in which was generally the minister, while the other stars were the acting justice of the peace, the highest military officer of a train band, company, or regiment, the lawyer, the doctor, and some teacher of a school.

The whole people were, indeed, trained up by the minister and the leading laymen, to "know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain."

III. The ministers of Connecticut taught the people their political rights.

When the Declaration of Independence, drafted by Jefferson, was published to the world, the ministers of Connecticut could feel the magic of his pen. The central doctrine of that instrument was as familiar to their minds as household words, though they had never before seen it expressed in such felicitous terms as the following, namely: "That governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying

its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." They welcomed these words, for they contained in them, substantially, the justification of the colonists in what they had done for a hundred and forty years, to cast off the laws of England, and to be governed by their own local laws.

This article in the Declaration was regarded as the *articulus velstantis vel cadentis patriæ.* In their political creed this doctrine was the article on which Connecticut, their country, must stand or fall. The following quotation from a sermon delivered by Timothy Dwight, at Northampton, in 1781, shows not only what the distinguished author, but what clergymen in general, thought on this subject:

"By this convulsion the world hath seen, for the first time, an extensive empire, founded on the only just basis, the free and general choice of its inhabitants. All others were founded in conquest and blood. Here, within a few years, the rights of human nature have been far more clearly unfolded than in any other age or country. Here constitutions of civil government have, for the first time, been formed, without an invasion of God's prerogative to govern his church, and without any civil establishments of religion."

The ministers taught the people to believe what they themselves believed, namely, that the people of Connecticut were qualified to choose their own form of government, and make their own laws.

They also, during the Revolution, taught them that "the sins of Great Britain are, in degree, enormous, and in multitude innumerable," as Mr. Dwight declared them to be in the same sermon.

IV. The ministers taught the people their political duties as well after, as before the new order of things. In their instructions they often descended to great particularities in their statements. Thus, Dr. Goodrich, of Durham, a man of great ability, and yet of a very calm and composed mind, was accustomed to tell his people that it was their duty to support the war of the Revolution by their means, by their prayers,

with heart and hand ; and in what way they ought to do this. He would show how they ought to do this as parents, or children, as husbands or as wives, in office and out of office ; and having carried his people along with him, in full sympathy with himself, he would say : "Let the young woman refuse to give her heart and her hand to the young man who will not give his heart and his hand to the war for the independence of the states. Shame on him. He deserves no favor at your hands."

An extract from a letter of General Greene, written in the year 1775, gives the feelings which greeted certain Connecticut men, who had returned home before the term of their enlistment had expired. (See Irving's Life of Washington, vol. ii, p. 109.) "The homeward bound warriors seem to have run the gauntlet along the road ; for their conduct on quitting the army drew upon them such indignation that they could hardly get any thing to eat on their journey ; and when they arrived at home they met with such a reception (to the credit of the Connecticut women be it recorded,) that many were soon disposed to return again to the camp." The women on this occasion, seem to have been in sympathy with the feeling among the ministers.

From the individuality of character for which the people of Connecticut have always been distinguished, it might be expected that there would be a considerable variety of opinion concerning the separation from the mother country. Some continued to feel loyalty towards the king, and openly professed this attachment to him. Others secretly indulged this feeling, though they moved along with the mass of the people in sustaining the measures that grew out of the Declaration of Independence. Some of the ministers themselves, probably, had some of the same feelings, and found it difficult to lay down rules of conduct that would be satisfactory to all their people. I have often heard it mentioned, that the ministers of Connecticut showed great wisdom in their public ministrations, and in their private conversation with the people of their charge ; and that to those who still continued to indulge feelings of loyalty toward the

king, they were gentle, "even as a nurse cherisheth her children."

So patriotic were some of these ministers in their attachment to the cause of independence, yet so wise and gentle were they towards those that were suspected of loyalty, that loyalists, or tories, as they were called, were sent into Connecticut from the State of New York and elsewhere.

Thus, they were sent to Lebanon, Hartford, Simsbury, Durham, Middletown, Saybrook, New London, Windham, Colchester, and other towns.

In early life I was often informed that many wise and intelligent men in Connecticut fully believed that the rupture between the colonies and Great Britain was premature, and that if there had been a wise delay, the sufferings of an eight years' war might have been avoided. I sometimes asked how long a delay would have been wise, and was told that fifty or sixty years would have made the colonies ripe and ready for independence.

While the British were in possession of Long Island and the Sound, some of the people of Connecticut whose sympathies were with the English, or who were lukewarm in their cause of liberty, carried on what was called the Long Island trade, to supply the British with provisions. Fresh meat, chickens, eggs, turkeys, vegetables, etc., were secretly sent from the towns on, and near the Sound, and money was received in return. The temptation to engage in this trade was a strong one. The people had become tired of the barren leaves of Continental money, and glad to put into their pockets the golden fruit in the shape of coin, even though it bore the image and superscription of the British king. They would start, it may be, twenty miles back from the Sound, dispose of their truck at some place on the Sound, to those who were engaged in the trade, and get back, it may be, before the people were up the next morning. Some of the men would wink at this practice, when carried on by their sons or some of their neighbors. They were supplied in this way with brandy, or wine, and the women with tea. The ministers set their faces against this trade, and carried the community,

generally, with them. One case could be cited in which a man living a few miles from the sea, was tried and excommunicated from the church, for selling a yoke of fat oxen to the commissary of the British fleet, which was then cruising in Long Island Sound. They earnestly encouraged enlistments, and all the measures adopted by the General Assembly.

An examination of facts would show clearly that the ministers of Connecticut educated the prominent men of the colony and of the State to bear their part honorably in the Revolution.

Qui facit per alium, facit per se.

The minister was the mentor, not only of the young Telemachus, but of the wise Ulysses, and the industrious and prudent Penelope. When a young man wished to choose his profession, or go off to seek his fortune, he would come to the minister for advice. When his father wished to make a purchase of land, or to emigrate to the west, he would consult the minister. When his mother had a daughter who had been asked in marriage, she would consult the minister. The advice thus given was found to be candid and wise. The following is a specimen:

One of the parishioners of Dr. Goodrich, told him a long story about the injuries which he had received from a neighbor, and said to him: "Don't you think that he has done very wrong?" Dr. Goodrich replied: "I have lent you this ear (pointing to the one nearest the listener), and now I must lend your neighbor the other ear, before I express an opinion." He was so satisfied with the candor of Dr. Goodrich that he dropped the whole subject.

There are certain religionists that seem to derive their religion from solitude, "where heavenly pensive contemplation dwells, and ever musing melancholy reigns." This is not true of the religious people of ancient Connecticut, though most of them were in the habit of secret prayer, and of going out to meditate, like Isaac, at eventide, sometimes in the grave-yard.

There is another sort of religionists that derive their re-

ligion from contact with others, assembled in large crowds. Neither was this the religion of the ancient people of Connecticut, though they enjoyed going to the house of God with the multitude that keep holy day. The religion of the people of Connecticut was to a large extent family religion, and the religion of the school and of the college.

The great Father of all set the people of Connecticut in families—not in clubs of bachelors, not in circles of spinsters; and as the young men married generally at the age of twenty-one, families rapidly increased, and ministerial influence kept pace with this increase.

The colony of Connecticut was disposed to connect religion with every important interest, and the ministers of religion with every important enterprise. These ministers, as Englishmen, were conservative, believing in the declaration, "*Leges Angliæ nolumus mutari.*"

As Puritans they were progressive; believing that fresh light was to break forth from the Scriptures, leading men to a more "excellent way." They had learned to labor and to wait for whatever was excellent. They labored to establish a college, and waited for this purpose something like sixty years, or two generations. They labored to establish an ecclesiastical constitution, but they waited sixty years or more, until 1708, before they accomplished their purpose. The new divinity men labored to get rid of the practice of baptizing children, on their parents "owning the covenant," but they waited something like three generations before they could confine the practice of baptism to the children of parents in full communion.

The average minister formed an early and strong attachment for the liberty to make local laws in the church and state. This precious liberty he long labored to win, and when his suit was denied by his political Laban, he was willing to labor and to wait seven, or even twice seven years, to gain full possession of this, his beloved Rachel.

Of this disposition of the colony to connect the ministers of religion with every important enterprise, we have an instance in the war against the Indians.

"A general court of Connecticut, held at Hartford, October 14th, 1675, did nominate and appoint the Rev. Israel Chauncey to be the minister for the army, to go out with Major Robert Treat in this present expedition." (Colonial Records, p. 267.)

"This court did order Mr. Gershom Bulkeley to be improved in this present expedition, to be chyrurgeon to our army; and also the said Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Chauncey were ordained and impowered to be of the Council of War." (Colonial Records, p. 271.)

It should be remembered that Mr. Chauncey was one of the founders of Yale College, and was offered the presidency of that institution, and Mr. Bulkeley was probably the most learned man of his time in Connecticut.

So in regard to the execution of Miantonomoh, five elders in Massachusetts were consulted, and their opinion settled the matter that Miantonomoh should be put to death.

So too, in the French wars, some of the ablest ministers of the colony were sent as chaplains. Among others, Rev. Elisha Williams, after he had been president of Yale College.

In the war of the Revolution, I can easily believe that it was expected that the chaplains of the army would be consulted by the officers of the army on important points.

When such men as Nathan Strong, Timothy Dwight, Joel Barlow, and Benj. Trumbull were appointed chaplains for the regiments of Connecticut, it must have been expected that they would have opinions on important matters, that they would express opinions, and that these opinions would have influence. The same might be said of Cotton Mather Smith, Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, Benj. Boardman, Abiel Leonard, Samuel Wood, Stephen Johnson, Samuel Bird, John Eels, Nathaniel Eels, Samuel Wales, and others.

It must have been expected that such men would have an influence as chaplains in the army, similar to what the pastors then had in the towns.

What gave the ministers of Connecticut great influence with their people, was their thorough knowledge of the people. They were ordinarily acquainted with every man, wo-

man, and child of ten years of age, in the whole town. They knew the character of each, the weakness and the strength of each. If any individual was dangerously sick, it was the custom to request public prayers for him on the Sabbath. On Monday the minister felt bound to visit the family thus afflicted, when their hearts were affected by a tender concern for the sick member. If death entered the family, the minister would often visit that family to offer consolation. If the ministers lived to an advanced age, they would, like the aged Nestor, have lived there through three generations of "articulate-speaking men." If there was feasting and rejoicing in the family, the minister must be invited to share in its joys. If there was affliction and bereavement, the minister must be invited to share in the sorrows. It was the proper distribution of truth among his people that gave to the minister his influence. He endeavored to give every one a portion in due season, and, in order to do that, he must know the wants of every one. It was not by throwing out great masses of truth, but by giving line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, that he moulded the hearts and lives of his people.

What was true at all times, was very strikingly true, in several respects, during the war of the Revolution, when the common danger, and the common hopes and fears produced by the war, had bound minister and people together.

It is to be considered that the great body of the people were agricultural, and that in the country towns the ministers cultivated farms, just as their people did. But besides this, the ministers received a salary from their people, and this salary, during the war, was paid in a depreciated currency, at a great pecuniary loss to the ministers.

At the commencement of this statement it was mentioned that the ministers of Connecticut were distinguished in the community for their learning, their general intelligence, their good manners, and their Christian graces. These gifts they faithfully and successfully endeavored to communicate to their people. They were influential in establishing and sustaining common schools, academies, and the glory of the com-

monwealth, Yale College. Many of them kept schools of a higher order, at which the youth in their own congregations, and from other places, could prepare for Harvard College, or for Yale, after that was founded.

They promoted general intelligence in many of the towns, by the establishment of libraries, in which standard English books were to be found, and which were extensively read.

They promoted good manners, or the minor morals, in the school, on the wayside, in the family, and in the house of God.

It was the grand object of their professional life to promote the Christian graces among their people.

Nor did they labor in vain. Under their culture the wilderness of 1636 blossomed like the rose in 1776. There was no commonwealth on this continent, or on the surface of the round earth, which, in proportion to its population, surpassed Connecticut in the universality of education, in general intelligence, in family religion, and happiness. The ministers and their people could sit under the three vines, symbolized in the armorial bearings of the colony; they could read the modest motto on those bearings, which ascribes everything to God and nothing to man, *Qui transtulit sustinet:* they could look into the hall of legislation which was opened every May by a sermon from one of their number; they could look into the courts of justice, opened with prayer; they could look into town meeting, and freeman's meeting, opened with prayer by the minister; they could look into Yale College and the schools, which were religious institutions; they could look into the churches, often crowded with worshipers on the Sabbath, and, in the fullness of their gratitude they could, with upturned eyes, in view of all these glories of the commonwealth, exclaim: What hath God wrought!

But afterwards, slips of these three vines took root elsewhere. From the hive of Connecticut swarms of workers went forth to the west, to the far west, to the great west, to plant there the institutions of their native State.

About the year 1820, during the years of my tutorship in

Yale College, students would come from Ohio, especially from the Western Reserve, and enter the institution. After showing the "mettle of their pasture," Prof. Silliman would say, in his sprightly genial way, in reference to them and the locality from which they came: "Connecticut *rediviva!*"

And afterwards, even down to the present time, there has been many a hamlet, many a town, many a village, many a city, of which it might be said, Connecticut *rediviva*.

STATEMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Rev. Nathaniel Niles was born in South Kingston, R. I., April 3, 1741; graduated at New Jersey college, 1766; studied theology with Dr. Bellamy; preached in several places in New England; was married to a Miss Lathrop in Norwich, where he resided a number of years; afterwards removed to West Fairlee, Vt., where he was speaker of the General Assembly, member of Congress, judge of the Superior Court, and author; died October 31, 1828, at West Fairlee, Vt. He was a gentleman of great worth, of various and decided talent; a useful man, and greatly respected. While in Norwich in 1775, he wrote the following "Sapphic Ode," which sounded to the dwellers among the hills and valleys as a trumpet call, summoning them to arms. And during the Revolutionary War, when sung in the full choir, with earnest expression by the sons and daughters of Connecticut, it seemed, like the

> "Blast of that dread horn,
> On Fontarabian echoes borne,"

wailing disaster and defeat, and rousing the courage of the faltering to do or die. In language it is sufficiently classic, and decidedly Christian.

"The poet seems to have had in view the following atrocities of British agents, which had recently been perpetrated:

"During the battle on Breed's hill, June 18, 1775, by the

orders of General Gage, the town of Charlestown was laid in ashes, by which 2,000 people were in a moment deprived of their habitations, furniture, and other necessaries, and property amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, perished in the flames!"

"To gratify personal malice and revenge, on the 19th October, 1775, Captain Mowat, commander of a sloop-of-war, under the orders of Admiral Graves, proceeded to burn the town of Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, destroying all the public buildings but one, and one hundred and thirty dwellings, and a great number of out-buildings.

"By this wanton and malicious act of revenge, about one hundred and sixty families were driven, at a late period of the year, to find an asylum as they could, from the severity of the approaching winter!" (President Dwight's Travels in New England.)

This ode has been denominated "The War Song of the Revolution." It found its place in various singing books used in churches. The tune can be found in "The Keynote," a singing book published as late as 1864.

THE AMERICAN HERO.

A SAPPHIC ODE.

Why should vain mortals tremble at the sight of
Death and destruction in the field of battle,
When blood and carnage clothe the ground in crimson,
Sounding with death groans?

Death will invade us by the means appointed,
And we must all bow to the king of terrors;
Nor am I anxious, if I am prepared,
What shape he comes in.

Infinite goodness teaches us submission,
Bids us be quiet under all His dealings;
Never repining, but forever praising
God our Creator.

Well may we praise Him, all His ways are perfect;
Though a resplendence infinitely glowing,
Dazzles in glory on the sight of mortals
Struck blind by lustre!

Good is Jehovah in bestowing sunshine,
Nor less His goodness in the storm and thunder;
Mercies and judgments both proceed from kindness,
Infinite kindness!

O then exult, that God for ever reigneth!
Clouds, which around Him hinder our perception,
Bind us the stronger to exalt His name, and
Shout louder praises!

Then to the wisdom of my Lord and Master,
I will commit all that I have or wish for;
Sweetly as babes sleep will I give my life up
When called to yield it.

Now, Mars, I dare thee, clad in smoky pillars,
Bursting from bomb-shells, roaring from the cannon,
Rattling in grape-shot, like a storm of hail-stones,
Torturing Æther!

Up the bleak heavens let the spreading flames rise,
Breaking like Ætna through the smoky columns,
Lowering like Egypt o'er the falling city,
Wantonly burnt down.

While all their hearts quick palpitate for havoc,
Let slip your blood-hounds, nam'd the British lions;
Dauntless as death stares, nimble as the whirlwind,
Dreadful as demons!

Let oceans waft on all your floating castles,
Fraught with destruction, horrible to nature;
Then, with your sails fill'd by a storm of vengeance,
Bear down to battle!

From the dire caverns made by ghostly miners,
Let the explosion, dreadful as volcanoes,
Heave the broad town, with all its wealth and people,
Quick to destruction!

Still shall the banner of the King of Heaven
Never advance where I'm afraid to follow;
While that precedes me, with an open bosom,
War, I defy thee!

Fame and dear freedom *lure* me on to battle,
While a fell despot, grimmer than a death's head,
Stings me with serpents, fiercer than Medusa's
To the encounter.

Life, for my country and the cause of freedom,
Is but a trifle for a worm to part with;
And if preserved in so great a contest,
Life is redoubled.

NORWICH, (Connecticut,) Oct. 1775.

In the book entitled "Revolutionary Memorials," Rev. Wheeler Case speaks of Burgoyne's mention of the pulpit orators, in the way of warning the people against them. This implies that Burgoyne well understood that the clergy had great influence with the people.

RECORDS OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT, VOL. I, 1738–1799.

A General Association of the Pastors of the Consociated Churches in the Colony of Connecticut, convened by Delegation at the house of the Rev'd Daniel Welch in Mansfield, June 21, 1774.

The Rev'd Messrs. Waterman, Drummond & Baldwin were appointed a Committee to draw a Draft of a Letter of Condolence [sic] to the ministers of Boston under the present melancholy Circumstances of that Town.

The Rev'd Messrs. Cogswell & Johnson were appointed to compleat the Draft of a Letter to the ministers of Boston.

The Committee appointed prepared a Draft of a Letter to the ministers of Boston, which after Correction was accepted & is as follows:

REV'D & DEAR SIRS.

We your brethren of the Colony of Connecticut met by Delegation from the several counties in General Association, at our annual meeting, cannot but deeply feel impressed with the present melancholy threatened Situation of America in general & the distressed State of the Town of Boston in particular, suffering the Severe resentment of the British Parliament by which the Subsistance of thousands is taken away. We readily embrace this opportunity, to manifest our hearty sympathy with you in your present Distresses. We consider you as suffering in the common cause of America [sic]—in the cause of civil Liberty, which if taken away, we fear would involve the ruin of religious Liberty also. Gladly would we contribute every thing in our Power for your Encouragement and Relief; however our Situation enables us to do little more

than to express our sincere affectionate Concern, and with fervent Addresses to commend your Cause & the Cause of America—the Cause of Liberty & above all of religion to the Father of Mercies, who can easily afford effectual Relief: who hath the Hearts of all at his Desposal & can turn them as he pleases. We feel deeply sensible, what a heavy Load must lie upon the minds of the ministers of Boston—enough to sink their Spirits unless armed with vigorous Christian Fortitude and Resolution. In hopes it may afford you some Consolation, we assure you of our sincere Condolance and unremitting prayers in your Behalf; & that we shall in every way suitable to our Character & Station use our Influence with the good People of the Colony, to concur in every proper Measure calculated to afford Relief to America in general and the distressed Town of Boston in Particular. We pray that the Ministers of Boston may be inspired by the great Head of the Church with Wisdom sufficient for their Direction in such a Critical Day as the present. And we cannot but hope the united Prayers of America may obtain that Audience in Heaven which will ensure Salvation to us: and that God would give them & their People Firmness, Unanimity, Patience, Prudence & every Virtue which they need to support them under their heavy trials, & enable them to stand firm in the glorious Cause of Liberty; express such a Temper & exhibit such an Example as shall be well pleasing to God & recommend them to the Compassion and Favour of their fellow men. We earnestly pray that God would humble us all under a deep sense of our numerous Transgressions and Criminal Declensions; show us the absolute necessity of Repentance and Reformation, humble us under his mighty hand & pour out a spirit of Fervent Supplication on you, on us, & all his people in this Land.

NOTE.—James Cogswell, [of Scotland,] Stephen Johnson, [of Lyme,] Samuel Lockwood, [of Andover.]

At a General Association of the Pastors of the consociated Churches of the colony of Connecticut, convened by Delegation, at the house of the Rev'd Benjamin Throop in Norwich, June 20th, A. D. 1775.

At an adjourned meeting held June 21st, "The General Association taking into serious Consideration the distressing and melancholy State of public Affairs in the British American Colonies, and the Dangers they are now threatened with from the oppressive Measures of the British Court, are sensible of the loud calls of God in his Providence, that humbling ourselves under his righteous Hand, we turn unto him by unfeigned Repentance and Amendment, and we are thankful that God has put it into the Hearts of our Rulers

frequently to call upon us and our people to those Duties, that laying aside all Levity, Extravagance, and undue Diversions, we should be Excited to earnest Prayer and Supplication and meet with our people for that Purpose as frequently as convenience will admit. We trust our Rulers will still encourage this good work and strengthen the Hands of all the ministers in it. We also rejoice that in so many of our Churches and Congregations there appears a Disposition of attending on such Seasons, and wish it may become general and universal: We look upon it in particular our Duty to stir up ourselves and all our Brethren in the Ministry to be forward in leading our people in this Day of Trouble to be calling on God, and to have special Seasons of Prayer, and that the whole of our Congregations be urged to attend them. This is certainly our Duty and what we are particularly directed to in the Word of God, that we answer the Messages of Heaven in Divine Providence and become an humble, penitent and pardoned People prepared for the Divine Mercy and Salvation. And as we are the Covenant people of God, and have enjoyed the special privileges of the Gospel, we look upon it that God in his Providence calls upon us to consider our Covenant obligations, and that it is the indispencable [sic] Duty of Ministers to impress the minds of all their people with the Duty of owning the Covenant God of our Fathers; that those who have come under explicit and personal Engagements, humbling themselves for all Breaches of their Vows, should be quickened to walk with God in all his Commandments and Ordinances; and that others should be reminded of their awful Neglects and urged to remember and own the Obligations they are laid under by God's Covenant and improve the Privileges of it, and if any Churches or Congregations shall see fit and convenient publickly and *as a body* to renew their Covenant with God we should approve it; but must leave the Matter to the Prudence of ministers and Churches to determine particularly for themselves: At the same time we would solemnly charge ourselves, our Brethren in the Ministry, and our People to be earnest in seeking and turning to God, and that bringing forth such

Fruits as he requires we may have tokens for Good, and still trust in his fatherly Kindness, that he will appear for this Land, scatter the dreadful cloud that is over it, secure and perpetuate all its Rights and Privileges, and cause the Churches here planted to flourish so long as the Sun and Moon shall endure.

An Address of the General Association to the consociated Pastors and Churches in the Colony of Connecticut:

Reverend and Beloved:

Deeply impressed with a sense of the calamitous State in which our Land is involved: Reduced by the arbitrary Edicts of the British Parliament, and the cruel and inhuman Methods used to inforce them, to the sad necessity of defending by Force and Arms those precious Privileges which our Fathers fled into this Wilderness quietly to enjoy: Declared Rebels by the British King and Parliament;—Not only the Power of Britain, but a large Army of Foreign Mercenaries, hired at most Extravagant Price, employed to draggoon us into Obedience or rather abject Submission to Tyranny:—Our Foreign Trade almost annihilated:—Many of our towns ruined and destroyed: Our Children, our Friends, our dearest Connections called from our Bosoms to the Field of Battle; and some of them captured and enslaved by our cruel and insulting Foes: Detestible Parricides interspersed among us, aiming to give a fatal stab to the Country which gave them birth, and hath hitherto fostered them in her indulgent Bosom;—And in many Places both at Home and Abroad, deplorable Sickness wasting away the Inhabitants of our Land: Deeply impressed with a View of these dire Calamities, we are led anxiously to inquire what Sins and Iniquities prevalent in our Land, have called down these heavy Judgments of Heaven upon us. Fully assured, both from sacred Writ and the usual Method of the Dispensations of God's Providence that such calamities are ever the effects of abounding Sin and Iniquity, and that Sincere Repentance and a thoro' Reformation, is the only probable Method to avert these Tokens of Divine Wrath.

The address then goes on to specify, in four closely written ledger pages, the sins of the times, viz.: Sabbath breaking, profanity, intemperance, uncleanness, and other vices, with the denial of important doctrines, and the neglect of church discipline, and exhorting ministers to be faithful rulers to enforce the laws against vice, churches to apply discipline, parents to govern and instruct their children, the young to fear God, and all classes to so conduct themselves as may avert the displeasure of God.

Mr. Baldwin, the scribe of the Association for 1776, having died, the original minutes appear to have been lost, and the above seems to have been recorded from the *printed* address of the above-mentioned Association to the churches.

REPORTS FROM THE COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS.

NEW STRATFORD (now Monroe), 1778.

"The Association took into consideration the melancholy situation of our country by reason of the severe rebukes of a holy God in suffering the continuance of a cruel and unjust war greatly to distress our land; Resolved on the continuance of public lectures in the several churches, with the united friendly assistance of the ministers in the vicinity. The Association then took into consideration the state of our English Schools, that the education of our youth in some parts of this State is greatly on the decline; that the employing some Schoolmasters not well qualified in learning, and others of immoral conduct, and such as are disaffected to the Liberties of the country, have a tendency to produce very unhappy effects; thought proper to instruct their Delegates to lay the matter before the General Association, that they may recommend such measures as have a tendency to revive learning and religion among the rising generation.

"Attest: DAVID ELY, *Scribe*."

REV. EBENEZER BALDWIN, OF DANBURY.

Deacon Eli T. Hoyt writes: "I find in Robbins's Century Sermon, 1800, preached to our society, and published,

the following tribute to the memory of Rev'd Ebenezer Baldwin, who was ordained 1770, and died in 1776.

"He officiated with great reputation in the ministry, till a sudden death terminated his labors in 1776, aged 31. A man of great talent and learning, a constant student, grave in manners, a constant and able supporter of the sound doctrines of the gospel.

"Tradition says he took the disease of which he died in the army. You are aware, I suppose, that he was uncle to the late Roger S. Baldwin."

REV. LYMAN HALL, OF STRATFIELD.

After his dismission in 1750, Mr. Hall removed to Georgia; was member of the Continental Congress, 1775; was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; afterwards Governor of Georgia; died in 1791. A tombstone was presented by the State of Georgia, and set up in Wallingford, his native place, 5th July, 1858.

REV. ROBERT ROSS, OF STRATFIELD (NOW BRIDGEPORT).

Mr. Ross, who was settled January 21, 1754, was of Irish descent, but born in this country; a strong whig, and "very useful in encouraging his hearers to perseverance in accomplishing the independence of his country." "Parson Ross was a strong whig in the Revolutionary War, and when the first military company in 1775 was raised to go to Canada to take Fort St. John, said company mustered in his door-yard, when they all knelt down with him while he offered prayer for a blessing on their enterprise. He published a sermon, that I have read, from these words, as near as I remember: "For the divisions of Reuben, there were great searchings of heart," which sermon I believe was preached at the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

"He was about six feet in height, and well proportioned; wore a wig, cocked hat, ruffled shirt, black coat, vest and breeches, with white topped boots, cramped so as to set tight on the instep. As he was on a journey on horseback, he got his boots wet, and having pulled them off to dry he could

not pull them on again ; so he tied them with his mail straps to his saddle. On the way he met Parson Bellamy, when they commenced the old dispute on foreordination and free will. 'Now,' says Parson Ross to Parson Bellamy, 'you think you can reconcile foreordination with free will?' 'Yes.' 'Well,' says Parson Ross, 'you cannot even tell me why my boots are tied on behind me!' Parson Ross was of the 'Old Divinity' party, and was considered orthodox, while Parson Bellamy was of the 'New Divinity.' He was educated at Princeton, and rec'd his diploma from Pres't Burr." (From MS. by Deacon Isaac Sherman, printed in the Bridgeport *Standard.*)

REV. JAMES BEEBE, OF TRUMBULL.

Rev. N. T. Merwin writes: "Rev. James Beebe, pastor of the Congregational church (then called Presbyterian), from 1747 to 1785, was a Revolutionary patriot. He took an active part in the capture of Ticonderoga, during the French and Indian war, and was active in stirring up the enthusiasm of the people in the war of the Revolution. He had a son David, who was a Captain in the Colonial army, and did good service in the Revolution.

"Parson Beebe collected a public meeting in his house one evening while the war was brewing. While he was addressing the people assembled there, reports of guns at a distance were heard, and fires were seen, intimating that the British were coming. The reverend general was keen, as well as patriotic, and suspecting a trick, he sent a body of men round by a back road, cut off the retreat of this scouting party, and captured them ; when lo! it was some of the young men of the town, who had burnt heaps of cornstalks, and fired their guns, to play a joke on the folks at the meeting, and test their patriotism."

ITEMS OF RECORD.

"Benjamin, son of Brigadier-General Gold Selleck Silliman and his wife, born Aug. the 8th, and baptized Sept. the 12th ; the General then being a prisoner on Long Island, his

lady fleeing from the conflagration of Fairfield, and took refuge in this society."

ANDREW ELIOT, minister of Fairfield, born 1743, son of Andrew Eliot, D. D., of Boston, graduated at Harvard in 1762, where he was a tutor; ordained June 22, 1774, died Oct. 26, 1805.

The following are extracts from letters which he wrote to his father during the war:

"FAIRFIELD, June 26th, 1778.

"The General Association sat at *Pauge* (Northford), near New Haven. I went as one of the delegates from our Association, and had the honor and trouble of serving as scribe to that venerable body. The interview was most agreeable, entertaining and profitable. I returned much pleased. Dr. Bellamy was our Moderator, and the Association was made up of new and old divinity men. But not a word of these peculiarities. The substance of our doings and conversation was how we should in the best and most effectual way promote Christian religion and morality—stem the torrent of vice in this degenerate age, and cultivate Candor, Harmony and Catholicism among Ministers, as well as among people. It was once and again observed, that all speculative disputes and party zeal should be laid aside—that Infidelity kept pace with increasing vices—and that there was the greatest occasion for Union in defence of the Christian cause."

"FAIRFIELD, July 10th, 1778.

"I wish Dr. Franklin was as great a Christian as he is a philosopher. What infinitely greater reason would he have to weep at the vain pomps and ceremonalia of this evil world?—Alas! Britain how art thou fallen! Ah! America to what art thou driven—to be forced to leave the land of thy forefathers' sepulchres, once a land of Liberty and religion—and to seek alliance and protection from part of the domains of the Man of Sin!"

REV. MOSES MATHER was born at Lyme, March 6, 1719, graduated at Yale College in 1739. He received the degree of D. D. from New Jersey College in 1791; died Sept. 21, 1806.

"On Sunday, the 22d of July, 1781, while the congregation were employed in public worship, a body of British troops, consisting chiefly of refugees, surrounded the church, and took the whole number prisoners, together with their minister, the Rev. Moses Mather, D. D. This venerable man was

marched with his parishioners to the shore, and thence conveyed to Lloyd's neck. From that place he was soon marched to New York, and confined in the Provost prison. His food was stinted, and wretched to a degree not easily imaginable. His lodging corresponded with his food. His company, to a considerable extent, was made up of mere rabble; and their conversation, from which he could not retreat, composed of profaneness and ribaldry. Here he was insulted daily by the Provost marshal, whose name was Cunningham,—a wretch remembered in this country only with detestation. This wretch, among other kinds of abuse, took a particular satisfaction in announcing from time to time to Dr. Mather, that on that day, the morrow, or some other time at a little distance, he was to be executed.

"But Dr. Mather was not without his friends;—friends, however, who knew nothing of him except his character. A lady of distinction, having learned his circumstances, and having obtained the necessary permission, sent to him clothes, and food, and comforts, with a very liberal hand." (Pres. Dwight's Travels.)

A poem, containing fifty-three stanzas, was written on the affair by Peter St. John, a schoolmaster of Norwalk, of which the following is the first stanza:

> "July the twenty-second day,
> The precise hour I will not say,
> In seventeen hundred and eighty-one,
> A horrid action was begun."

Mr. Mather was an earnest advocate of the rights of the colonies, and openly encouraged his parishioners to enlist in the patriot army. Many of the people, however, favored the cause of King George, and joined the British forces on Long Island.

About the 1st of August, 1779, a squad of eight tories, five of whom were his own parishioners, entered his house by night, and took him and four of his sons prisoners. After about five weeks, he was permitted to return with two of his sons, his other sons still remaining in prison for several months longer.

Hezekiah Ripley, D. D., born in Windham, Feb. 3, 1743; Yale College, 1763; ordained in Greens Farms, Feb. 11, 1767, and continued in the peaceful discharge of parochial duty until the commencement of the Revolutionary War; died 1822.

Faithful to those principles of civil and religious liberty for which his ancestors had been distinguished, he did not hesitate respecting the course which he should pursue. He discharged for a time the duties of a chaplain in the Continental army, and participated largely in the sufferings of that eventful period—his house, his furniture, and a portion of his library, having been burned by the enemy. I have been informed by those whose recollections embraced that period, that, during their public worship, alarming tidings were not unfrequently received. In such cases, and at the desire of Mr. Ripley, who was unwilling to forego those services, persons were stationed at such points that they might give timely notice of the approach of the enemy. While his countrymen were engaged in war, his feelings were alive to their success; although amid the contest, he pursued those labors which were appropriate to a servant of the Prince of Peace. The independence of the country established, he was relieved from the almost constant alarm and anxiety coincident to a residence upon the sea-board, and gladly hailed the return of peace, when every man could sit under his own vine and fig tree, having none to molest or make him afraid. He was now enabled to assist in the support of those institutions with whose prosperity the welfare of our country is so intimately connected. (Extract of a letter from Rev. Thomas F. Davies. Sprague's Annals, vol. i, p. 647.)

He rode out with many of his people to meet General Washington when on his way to Cambridge, to assume command of the army, and escorted him as far as Fairfield, where they dined. As they parted, Washington said to him. "If we can hold out one year, our liberties will be secured."

Isaac Lewis, D. D., born in Stratford, Jan. 21, 1746; Yale College, 1765; ordained at Wilton, Oct. 26, 1768; settled in Greenwich, Oct. 18, 1786; died Aug. 27, 1840.

Mr. Lewis espoused his country's cause with great zeal during the Revolutionary struggle, and both himself and his family had a full share in the sufferings and perils of that eventful period. On one occasion, when the British were trying to effect a landing at Norwalk, and the people had congregated to repel them, a cannon ball from one of their vessels struck the beach, within three feet of the spot on which he was standing, and then bounded with great force, and lodged in the ground three or four rods distant. At the burning of Norwalk so complete was the desolation that only one house, and that unfinished, and at a distance from the village, was suffered to remain; but, in that solitary dwelling the inhabitants assembled to observe a day of fasting and prayer, and Mr. Lewis preached an appropriate sermon to them from Isaiah lxiv, 11–12.

In the summer of 1776, he was appointed chaplain to the regiment commanded by Colonel Philip B. Bradley, then stationed at Bergen. He remained in the army actively engaged in his appropriate duties, nearly seven months, when he was attacked with a violent fever which then prevailed in the camp, and was, for some time, so ill that his recovery was considered hopeless. But, having naturally a vigorous constitution for medical skill to act upon, his health was gradually restored. After the State troops were disbanded, he was appointed chaplain in the Continental army, but his people being unwilling to spare him again, he declined the appointment.

David Avery, son of John and Lydia (Smith) Avery, was born at Norwich, Conn., April 5, 1746. He was fitted for college in Dr. Wheelock's school, Lebanon; entered Yale a year in advance, and was graduated in 1769. He studied theology under Dr. Wheelock; was ordained a missionary to the Oneida Indians, as colleague with Samuel Kirkland; was installed at Windsor, Vt., March 25, 1773; and dismissed April 14, 1777, to enter the army as chaplain. He was at the taking of Burgoyne, at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, and in the battle of Princeton; served three years as chaplain in the army; settled at Bennington, Vt., Wren-

tham, Mass., and Chaplin, Conn., and performed two missionary tours in New York and Maine; died in 1817. He is said to have been "an Edwardean in sentiment, and a Whitefieldian in warmth of manner."

The following is the title page of a sermon preached by him:

"*The Lord is to be praised for the Triumph of His Power.*

A SERMON

PREACHED AT GREENWICH IN CONNECTICUT, ON THE 18TH OF DECEMBER, 1777,

BEING

A GENERAL THANKSGIVING THROUGH THE UNITED AMERICAN STATES.

BY DAVID AVERY, V D M.,
CHAPLAIN TO COL. SHERBURNE'S REGIMENT.

Say continually, Let God be magnified.

NORWICH,
PRINTED BY GREEN & SPOENER 1778."

At the close of a few words, explaining that it is the author's belief that the extensive circulation of this discourse, in printed form, may do something to increase confidence in God and magnify His name, the author signs himself,

"CAMP AT FISHKILL,
"8th March, 1778."

The text is Ex. xv, 11, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord"—and includes the verse.

He makes brief divisions of the introduction, by considering separately the clauses, "Glorious in holiness," etc. Then he enumerates the events propitious and adverse of the campaign to the date given, drawing therefrom with considerable patience and persistence always the same lesson, that God has helped and will give success to the American arms. He closes with an exceedingly lengthy exhortation, dwelling especially upon the careless and ungodly lives to which the

soldiers were sadly inclined, urging them to forsake profane and blasphemous speech. T.

Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin was born at Norwich, July 3d, 1745; Yale College, 1763; tutor there from 1766 to 1770; ordained in Danbury, Oct. 1770; died Oct. 1st, 1776.

"About the time that Mr. Baldwin was settled in Danbury, the assumed power of the British Parliament to bind the colonies by their acts in all cases, and the measures of the British government respecting the colonies, produced a general alarm, and became the subject of universal discussion, as threatening the liberties of the people, both civil and religious. Not only were the civilians alarmed, but the clergy, the descendants of the emigrant Puritans, who were persecuted at home, and fled to this country to enjoy in peace both their civil and religious privileges, now claimed it as their duty to come forward boldly in defense of their rights.

"No class of our citizens were more conspicuous for their patriotism, or more powerfully contributed to arouse the spirit of resistance to the despotic acts of the British government, and prepare the minds of the people for the great struggle of the Revolution, than the Congregational clergy of New England; and among them, few, if any, exhibited greater zeal or more signal ability, than the subject of this notice. The history of the world had taught him that civil and ecclesiastical despotism had ever gone hand in hand together. He felt, therefore, that the religious, no less than the civil, liberties of the people were in peril, and that, when the latter should have fallen a sacrifice to despotic power and oppression, the former could not long survive, but ecclesiastical tyranny, in some shape or other, would, like a mighty torrent, soon overspread the land.

"In August, 1776, he accompanied a large number of his parishioners, as their chaplain, to the seat of war in the vicinity of New York, to whose defense they were called as militia-men. He there, while in the performance of his duties, amidst the hardships of the camp, in ministering to the sick and suffering soldiers, contracted the fatal disease of

which he died, soon after his return to his parish." (Sprague's Annals, p. 637–639.)

While a tutor in Yale College he published a number of articles on the principles of liberty, and against slavery, which exerted a great influence in hastening the abolition of slavery in New England.

"Rev. David Ely, D. D., was born at Lyme, July 7th, 1749; graduated at Yale College, 1769; settled at Huntington, Oct. 27, 1773, and died Feb. 16, 1816.

"Settled in the ministry just before the War of the Revolution, Dr. Ely participated in the anxieties of that momentous period. I infer this from the fact that, in the town of his residence, and in those adjacent, there were many adherents of the British Crown, and from a threat which one of the most prominent of those men made to him. It was to the effect that when the rebellion was put down, the Doctor should be hung on an oak tree which long flourished on the public square, and near the meeting-house in which he preached. (Sprague's Annals, vol. ii, p. 4.)

Rev. Nathaniel Bartlett was ordained the second pastor of the church in Reading, Conn., in 1753, and died in 1810, after a pastorate of 57 years. He was a sturdy patriot, and during the Revolution his house was made a magazine for arms and ammunition for the patriot troops. This house is still standing, in excellent repair, and is occupied by Mr. Bartlett's heirs. Two of his sons served in the army.

L.

Rev. Samuel Sherwood was graduated at Yale College in 1749; tutor at Nassau Hall; ordained at Weston, Aug. 17, 1757; died May 25, 1783, in the 54th year of his age, and the 26th of his ministry. He preached for liberty, and roused the people; and thus he became so obnoxious to the British and tories, that it was not deemed safe for him to sleep in his own house; but he retired to some neighbors, leaving his family in charge of an old Swiss soldier. A published sermon of his, delivered on a "Public Fast," in 1774,

which was full of patriotic and courageous sentiments, with an appendix by Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, of Danbury, was lately deposited in the library of Yale College. B.

Rev. Seth Sage was installed pastor in Canton, 1774, and dismissed, 1778. If we may use the proverb, "Like people like priest," the conclusion is that Mr. Sage was thoroughly patriotic and zealously engaged in the Revolutionary struggle. His people made great sacrifices, and many of them went into the army.

The position of the pastor may be inferred from another fact. Some of his people were dissatisfied, left the church and society, and became "Separatists"—afterwards Baptists. These constituted a "hot bed of tories."

The community was in a divided state, the church broken, and their records lost, after the dismission of Mr. Sage.

Rev. Timothy Pitkin, the fourth pastor of the ancient church in Farmington, was there through the whole Revolutionary period. He was the son of Governor Pitkin, born in East Hartford, 1727. He was graduated at Yale College, 1747,—was a tutor in the same, 1750–51; he was ordained pastor of the church in Farmington, June, 1752; was dismissed on account of ill health, June, 1785, and died July 8, 1812, in the 86th year of his age. He was a member of the corporation of Yale College from 1777 to 1804. His son, the Hon. Timothy Pitkin, was distinguished both as a historian and a statesman.

One item, incidentally gathered, affords cheering evidence that Mr. Pitkin was deeply interested in the Revolutionary War. He preached to the soldiers in Simsbury, as they were about to go forth to the field of conflict. Efforts have been made, but in vain, to find the discourse then delivered. If he performed such service abroad, what must he have done among his own people! For all that combines to make a "good minister of Jesus Christ," the name of Timothy Pitkin is held in everlasting remembrance.

Even to the present day it is like "incense poured forth."

Rev. William Robinson was the first minister in Southington; his father was a merchant; graduated at Yale College, 1773, and ordained, 1780; was dismissed in 1821, and died on his birth-day, August 15, 1825, aged 71. He was married four times; had six children by his last wife, one of whom was the distinguished biblical scholar, Rev. Prof. Edward Robinson.

For native talent, and a strong, comprehensive intellect, he had no superior among his ministerial brethren. When he was settled in Panthorn (Southington), it was a poverty-stricken place, and he was obliged to resort to farming to support his family. The result was, he became the wealthiest man in town, but not so distinguished in his profession as he otherwise would have been, though he ranked high among his brethren. When Mr. Robinson graduated, he was one of the first scholars of his class; was afterwards tutor, and always in close relations of friendship with such men as Timothy Dwight and Joseph Buckminster, and esteemed in most respects as fully their equal.

Rev. John Smalley, D. D., a famous divine, and celebrated as a teacher of students in theology, was born at Columbia, 1734. He was pastor of the church in New Britain from 1758, when the church was first organized, and he ordained its pastor, until 1810, when Rev. Newton Skinner was settled as his colleague. It was no secret that at the outbreak of the War of the Revolution his sympathies were very strongly with the Royalists, and he had the reputation of a Tory.

Dr. Smalley was a man of very austere manners; dignified and reserved in his intercourse with his people—maintaining to the last the peculiarities of dress, manners, and dignified reserve of the old Puritan divines. He was never a man to be carried away by any sudden or popular impulse. Accordingly, when his people evinced their sympathy with the cause of their country, he did not go with them, or favor their cause—and he took no pains to conceal his dislike.

It is stated of him, that when, during the war, two hostile

vessels appeared off New London, and news of the event was brought to New Britain on the Sabbath, and made public, Captain Gad Stanley having given notice at the close of divine service, to his military company to assemble at the church the next morning, Dr. Smalley gave very marked expression to his disapprobation of their course in fighting against the king. This occasioned great excitement at the time, though afterwards quietness was restored, and he may, in a measure, have acquiesced in the results of the war, and in the independence of the country, but he remained to the last a bitter foe to that democracy which gained ascendency in Jefferson's administration, and he was not afraid to "preach politics" when occasion required.

Rev. John Eells was pastor of the first church in Glastonbury, during the Revolution. Another Mr. Eells was pastor of the East Society, called Eastbury (now Buckingham), at the same time—the latter being a cousin of Rev. John Eells. The ministry of the two cousins spans the entire period of the Revolution, in which the people of Glastonbury deeply sympathized from the outset, and it is to be presumed that both of these pastors were eminently patriotic. "News of the battle of Lexington reached Glastonbury during divine service, and the facts were announced from the pulpit." Another cousin of this patriotic family was minister of North Branford, "who, having raised a volunteer company in his own congregation, was chosen captain, and entered the Revolution in that capacity."

Samuel Woodbridge, pastor of the East Society, was chaplain for a time during the Revolution.

Rev. William Lockwood, afterwards pastor of the first church, was chaplain in the Revolution, and on terms of friendly acquaintance with General Washington. He frequently received invitations to dine with him.

Rev. Joshua Belden was pastor of the Newington church during the Revolution—from May, 1747, was active pastor

until Nov., 1803—Rev. Joab Brace being settled as his colleague in 1805. Mr. Belden died July, 1813. Active pastor 56 years, and nominal pastor ten years longer. A sketch of him may be found in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine for the year 1813. Nothing special is known of his patriotic record during the war, but Newington furnished its full proportion of soldiers for the army, and it is presumed the pastor sympathized with his people in relation to the cause of his country. The records of the church and society, indeed, give evidence of his cheerful self-denial to aid the common cause. He was, no doubt, actuated by a patriotic spirit.

Rev. David S. Rowland, pastor at Windsor from 1776 to the time of his death, 1794, at the age of 75. His first settlement was in Plainfield, Conn., 1747–8; dismissed 1761; next settled in Providence.

"He was a firm and zealous defender of the liberties of his country against foreign oppression." So obnoxious did he become to the enemies of the country that when the town of Providence was invested by the British, he was obliged, with his family, to flee in disguise. He is described as a powerful and eloquent preacher, of commanding person in the pulpit, and of fine elocution. He preached and published many patriotic sermons. While minister of Providence he preached a sermon on Fast Day at Wrentham, Mass., entitled, "Despotism illustrated and improved from the character of Rehoboam." It was a time of great political excitement, and occasioned a marked sensation. It was a year before the battle of Bunker Hill, about the time of the destruction of tea in Boston harbor. "A close parallel was drawn with a zealous and patriotic hand, between Rehoboam and George the Third." "The Hon. Judge Daggett, of New Haven, was present when the discourse was delivered, and stated that it produced a very great excitement."

Nathan Perkins, D. D., born May 14, 1749; New Jersey College, 1770; settled 1772 in West Hartford; died, January 18, 1838.

On the second of June, 1775, he preached a sermon to a

company of soldiers who went from his parish in defense of their country. His text was Ps. cxl, 1–2: "Deliver me O Lord from the evil man; preserve me from the violent man, which imagine mischiefs in their heart; continually are they gathered together for war." After an apology for introducing into the pulpit a topic so different from what his hearers usually heard him discuss, the preacher announced for the three heads of discourse:

I. Mischiefs are imagined against us by evil men.

II. To make these mischiefs take effect war is begun.

III. Deliverance and preservation must be sought from the Lord.

Under the first head are sketched the character, aims, and success of the Pilgrim fathers, and their successors; the friendly relations established between the colonies and the mother country; the adverse sentiments and conduct of the parent state, pushing coercive measures under pretext of just government. "They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent; they show no regard to our persons or our rights. No conquered province was ever dealt more hardly by. Our precious liberties are invaded. Our sacred charters are violated. Foreign troops—the bane of government—are quartered among us in time of profound peace. The cruel superstition of Popery established, Protestanism only tolerated, and a despotism dangerous in the last degree in a neighboring province."

II. Under this head is shown the falseness of the claim set up by the advocates of unconstitutional submission, on the ground of what the New Testament teaches respecting obedience to the powers that be. "We must resist unto blood, or be slaves. It would be criminal to give up our liberties. We should defend ourselves, and appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause." At the close, the soldiers are exhorted to be courageous, orderly, and to fear the Lord. "You fight, not for your daily bread—not for your pence sterling a day—but for your lives, your property, your native land, your dearest friends, your just rights, all you hold dear as men, and sacred as Christians—your all. Play the men,

therefore, for your God and your people, and the cities of your God."

Ebenezer Gay, D. D., born, 1719; Harvard College, 1737; minister at Suffield; died, 1796, having been in the ministry 53 years.

He addressed a company of soldiers belonging in the town, as they were on the eve of joining the army. He urged the lawfulness and necessity of taking up arms in defense of the country, and closed with a stirring appeal to the soldiers. An examination of his neatly written sermons shows that during the war he was accustomed to plead the cause of freedom and independence.

Ammi Rahumah Robbins, son of Rev. Philemon Robbins, of Branford, was born 1740; Yale College, 1760; ordained at Norfolk, October 28, 1761; died 1813, after a ministry of fifty-two years, in which he was greatly distinguished for usefulness and success.

"Until the close of his ministry, the whole population of the town were preserved in one religious denomination. It would be difficult to select a minister in Connecticut who has been more popular with the people of his charge, or who exercised over them a more and complete and useful control. Bland and courteous in his manners, with a comely figure, a winning face, and constitutional agility, he ruled the old men, being at once their counselor and their boon companion. The young were his children; the great mass of them were under his ministry born into the kingdom of God." (From Dr. McEwen's discourse at the Litchfield county celebration.)

Mr. Robbins became a chaplain in the American army in the northern campaign of 1776. He left Norfolk on Monday, March 18th, and late on the evening of the next day arrived at Albany, near which the army was encamped. He kept a daily journal, which I have seen, and certainly the amount of labor which he performed was truly wonderful, during his presence with the army. He preached twice at least every Sabbath, besides visiting and praying with the sick and wounded. And during the week, he was day and

night engaged in this benign Christian work—never sparing himself if he could be of any service to the poor, suffering soldiers. The result was, that his health broke down, and he was compelled to leave the army for a time. He reached home on Wednesday, June 5th. But his heart was with the army, and although his health was only partially restored, he left Norfolk, July 2d, to join the regiment. It was an unwise step. Before the end of the month he was sick and had high fever. I quote from his journal:

"*Monday*, 29.—Was brought in a carriage to Stillwater, where Doct. Merwin attended me, who says my disorder is of the dissolvent, putrid kind. He talked encouragingly, but says no prospect of my being able to return to the camp and to my duties under three or four weeks; and as I could ride a little, recommended me to try to get home. I am peculiliarly unfitted to do the duties of a chaplain, on account of my bilious constitution. I envy Brother Avery his health. He will go through the hospital when pestiferous as disease and death can make it, with a face as smooth as a baby's, and afterwards an appetite as healthy as a wood-chopper. I cannot; after inhaling such diseased breath, am sick and faint; besides their sorrows take hold of me. I would not shrink from the work. Our war is a righteous war; our men are called to defend their country; whole congregations turn out, and the ministers of the gospel should go and encourage them when doing duty, attend and pray for and with them when sick, and bury them when they die. I hope to return to my work."

He reached home on the third day of August. After a rest of sixteen days, he took leave of friends at home to join the regiment, in company with Captain Watson, "both of us feeble soldiers." Thus he went on in this impaired state of health, till the close of the campaign for that year, "in spending and being spent," for the welfare of the soldiers.

I close with the last entry in his journal:

"*Thursday*, 31 October.—Arrived at night in my own home, after near three months absence in fatigue, perils and dangers, having experienced the most distinguishing marks

of Divine mercy and favor. O for a heart full of gratitude and praise and resolution to live thankful, humble, and faithful, being laid under the greatest obligations thereto."

Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, born Suffield, Conn., 1731; descendant of Rev. Henry Smith, first minister of Wethersfield; Yale College, 1751; settled in Sharon, Conn., from Aug. 28, 1755, to his death, Nov. 27, 1806. Father of Gov. John Cotton Smith.

After he had been twenty years in the pastoral office, that great event, the American Revolution, occurred. It found Mr. Smith in the maturity of his powers, wielding within his sphere a great influence. He had dedicated himself to the Christian ministry; this did not make him too sacred to give himself to his country. His brethren, the Congregational clergymen of New England, were at large, distinguished patriots in the struggle of the states for their independence and free government. None among them, in the incipient movements of the Revolution, or in providing for the hardships and conflicts of the war, brought the people and their charges up to a higher tone of action than did the pastor of Sharon. His sermons, his prayers, the hymns which he gave to the choir, were impulsive to patriotism. When the news of a battle, such as that of Lexington, or the news of victory, such as Burgoyne's surrender, reached Mr. Smith, by an echo of the tidings from the pulpit, he electrified his congregation. Anxiety for the issue of the war inflamed his bosom to such a heat that this domestic action did not satisfy him. Into the memorable campaign of 1775, he entered as chaplain to a regiment in the northern army. His influence in producing order and good morals in the camp, in consoling the sick, and inspiring the army with firmness and intrepidity, attracted the attention of General Schuyler, the commander-in-chief, and secured from this worthy officer a respectful friendship for Mr. Smith the residue of life. (Copied from Dr. McEwen's Discourse.)

The following sprightly and interesting remarks were furnished me by Charles F. Sedgwick, Esq, of Sharon:

"The religious element in New England entered largely

into the causes which forced the separation of the colonies from the mother country, and in the public religious teachings of Mr. Smith before the actual breaking out of the conflict, there was mingled much of the stirring patriotism of the times. The public mind in Sharon, therefore, was well prepared to meet the realities of the great struggle at its first breaking out, and Mr. Smith was a leading spirit in the town during all the scenes of the war.

"The intelligence of the battle of Lexington was brought to Sharon on the Sabbath, and at the close of the morning exercises Mr. Smith announced it to the congregation, accompanied with remarks tending to rouse their spirits to firmness and resistance. Immediately after the congregation was dismissed, the militia and volunteers, to the number of one hundred men, were paraded on the green, prepared to march to the scene of conflict, but intelligence came from Litchfield, intimating that their services were not then needed, as the British had returned to Boston, and they were dismissed until another call should be made for their services."

Mr. Smith was on duty as chaplain of Colonel Hinman's regiment at Ticonderoga for several months during the campaign of 1775, and while there was brought very low by a severe attack of sickness; and at one time his recovery was thought to be very doubtful, but he returned to his people, and in the darkest hour of the conflict his firmness and his faith never forsook him.

When Burgoyne was approaching with a large army from Canada, in 1777, threatening the disruption of the colonies and the early subduing of the rebellion, terror and despondency pervaded the public mind; but Mr. Smith insisted that better days would soon shine upon the country, and was very active in persuading the men of the town to rally and join the army, which was to stop the progress of Burgoyne.

During a period of intense excitement and anxiety, Mr. Smith preached a sermon from Isaiah, xxi, 11: "Watchman what of the night?" "Watchman what of the night?" The discourse was adapted to the condition of public affairs. He

dwelt much on the indications which the dealings of Providence afforded, that a bright morning was about to dawn upon a long night of disaster. He told the people that he believed they would soon hear that a great victory had crowned the arms of America, and exhorted them to trust, with unshaken and fearless confidence, in that God who, he doubted not, would very soon appear for the salvation and deliverance of his people, and crown with success the efforts of the friends of liberty in this country. Before the congregation was dismissed, a messenger arrived bringing intelligence of the surrender of Burgoyne and his army, and joy and gratitude took possession of minds which had been so lately filled with fear and despondency. The favorable issue of the campaign of 1777, put an end to the struggle in this part of the country; but the patriotic activities of Parson Smith were the theme of comment and commendation through the succession of many years.

JUDAH CHAMPION was graduated at Yale College in 1751; ordained in Litchfield, July 4, 1753; died in 1810.

One pleasant Sabbath morning the congregation had gathered together, and had just commenced the morning hymn, when, through the still streets there came the sharp clatter of a horse's hoofs—always so ominous, at that time, of tidings from the army. As usual, when the courier arrived in any town on the Sabbath, he made straight for the "meeting-house." Reaching the door, he dismounted, and, flinging the bridle over the horse's neck, entered the building. The singing ceased, and every eye was turned on the stranger as he walked up the broad aisle and ascended the pulpit stairs. He handed Mr. Champion a paper, who, with a smile of triumph on his face, arose and read: "ST. JOHNS IS TAKEN." It must be remembered that this place had been besieged six weeks, till people began almost to despair of its ever being taken. The noble pastor, the moment he had finished the sentence, lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed: "Thank God for the victory." The chorister, sitting opposite the pulpit, in the gallery, clapped his hands and shouted: "AMEN

AND AMEN!" For a while the joy was unrestrained, but the pastor soon checked it by saying: "There is something more to be heard." He then read a lengthy communication, stating that the army was in a suffering condition. It was now the latter part of November, and there, on the borders of Canada, the winter was already setting in, and yet the troops were about to march for Quebec to undergo the rigors of a winter campaign. It described in vivid language their suffering condition. They were destitute of clothing, without shoes or stockings, and yet were ordered to traverse the frozen fields of the north.

The touching description lost none of its pathos as read by the pastor and commented on by him at its close. When he had finished, there was hardly a dry eye in the house. Especially the women were overcome with emotion. As soon as the congregation was dismissed, a few prominent ladies were seen to gather round the young pastor with eager countenances. They were evidently asking him some questions, and it was equally evident, from his benevolent smile and nodding head, that he was answering them satisfactorily. Soon they began to move rapidly among the other women that, in turn, gathered into groups in earnest conversation. After a little while they all dispersed to their homes. When the congregation assembled for the afternoon service, not a woman was in the church. The wives, mothers, and maidens had laid aside their Sabbath apparel and drawn forth their spinning-wheels, set in motion their looms, and brought out their knitting-needles and hand-cards, and the village suddenly became a hive of industry. On that usually still Puritan Sabbath afternoon, there now rung out on every side the hum of the wheel and the click of the shuttle—sounds never before heard in Litchfield on the Sabbath day, and which contrasted strangely with those of prayer and praise in the adjoining sanctuary. Yet both believed that they were serving God. The women were working for those brave patriots who were about to march, destitute and barefoot, over the frozen ground to strike for freedom. Many years after, when a venerable old man, Mr. Champion was asked by his grand-

daughter how he could approve such a desecration of the Sabbath. He turned on her a solemn look, and replied simply: "MERCY BEFORE SACRIFICE."

Oh, what a flood of light does such a scene as this, on a Sabbath afternoon in those strict times, throw on the state of feeling that existed. Is it wonderful that a revolution which had its springs so deep down in the human heart, and was sustained by such prayers and such faith, should succeed? Its true history is not to be found on the battle-field, but in these secluded villages and country parishes.

Not long after this, Mr. Champion received, one morning, several quarters of veal from different parishioners, who were ignorant of each other's intentions. His wife was in dismay at this inundation of veal, and asked him what she should do with it, as it would be impossible to use it all before it spoiled. "Never mind," said this man of faith, "Providence has a meaning in it. There will be occasion to use it in some way we do not think of." Within two hours he received a letter from a nephew, who was a quartermaster in the army, saying that a regiment of soldiers would pass through Litchfield that day, and would need a dinner. He immediately sent word round to the inhabitants, who hastily gathered together and set tables through the main street and loaded them down with provisions. The good man was right—there was "occasion" for the veal.

When the news of Burgoyne's invasion filled the land with excitement and alarm, Mr. Champion could remain at home no longer, a mere idle spectator, while he urged with such earnestness his parishioners to hasten to the battle-field, and offering his services, he went to Ticonderoga as chaplain. He was there with the brave Allen, and saw with dismay the army abandon the fortress and take up its line of retreat through the wilderness. It was with feelings of unbounded joy he saw the army at last make a determined stand at Saratoga. His attention to the wounded after the first battle was unwearied. After the surrender of Burgoyne, he showed the same devotion to the sick and wounded of the British. So ceaseless and kind were his efforts that both the American

and British officers returned him their warmest thanks. He witnessed the close of the great drama, when the British evacuated New York city." (From J. S. Headley, in the New York *Observer* for 1875.)

The following is taken from Hollister's History of Connecticut:

"Rev. Judah Champion, of Litchfield, was an ardent patriot. Besides acting as a chaplain in the army, he used all his influence in arousing and sustaining the enthusiasm of the people in favor of liberty; at one time preaching eloquent sermons, at another encouraging enlistments and contributions of clothing and provisions for the army. In 'the alarming crisis, he thus invoked the sanction of Heaven:'

"Oh Lord! we view with terror and dismay the enemies of thy holy religion; wilt thou send storm and tempest, to toss them upon the sea, and to overwhelm them in the mighty deep, or scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth. But peradventure, should any escape thy vengeance, collect them together again, O Lord! as in the hollow of thine hand, and let thy lightnings play upon them. We beseech thee, moreover, that thou do gird up the loins of these thy servants, who are going forth to fight thy battles. Make them strong men, that 'one shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight.' Hold before them the shield, with which thou wast wont in the old time to protect thy chosen people. Give them swift feet that they may pursue their enemies, and swords terrible as that of thy destroying Angel, that they may cleave them down when they have overtaken them. Preserve these servants of thine, Almighty God! and bring them once more to their homes and friends, if thou canst do it consistently with thine high purposes. If, on the other hand, thou hast decreed that they shall die in battle, let thy spirit be present with them, and breathe upon them, that they may go up as a sweet sacrifice into the courts of thy temple, where are habitations prepared for them from the foundation of the world."

Rev. James Dana, D. D., born, Mass., May 11, 1735; Harvard University, 1753; settled in Wallingford, Oct. 12,

1758, and in New Haven, April 29, 1789; died, August 18, 1812.

The following is an extract from Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 273:

"There was a time, while the Revolution was approaching, when public sentiment in Connecticut had by no means become unanimous as to the expediency of attempting to stand against the British government, or of taking any measures which might sever the tie between the colonies and the present empire. The eastern part of the State was somewhat in advance of the western, and, if I mistake not, the 'new lights,' as a body, were a little before the old lights, or conservative party, as a body. So slow was Governor Fitch in coming up to the grand movement of the day, and consenting to the adoption of strong measures, that during the agitations consequent upon the Stamp Act, he lost the confidence of the people, and lost his office. It was not far from this time that Dr. Dana, then a young man, was invited to preach in this place (New Haven). Many, particularly of the eastern members, would have refused to hear so suspected a preacher, if they had not understood that he was strongly on their side in politics. Their curiosity, and their confidence in his political orthodoxy, overcame their dislike of his ecclesiastical irregularity. His audience, therefore, included all the leading political men of the colony. Expecting, or at least hoping for such an audience, he had prepared himself for the occasion. His text was, Heb. xi, 24, 25. 'By faith, Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.' And though to men not in the habit of looking for a double sense, the sermon might have seemed far enough from having any political bearing, there were few in that audience who did not see the meaning. As the preacher illustrated and vindicated the conduct of Moses, 'when he had come to years,' it became very plain that Connecticut, having come to years, was old enough to act for herself, and trusting in the God of Israel, to refuse to be any longer dependent

upon Pharaoh. As he held up for imitation the faith of the great Hebrew lawgiver, whom all the blandishments of royalty could not pervert, whom the wrath of the king could not deter, and who renounced the court and identified himself with the cause of the wronged and oppressed people, there was no hearer who did not see for himself, in the contrast, the picture of those timid politicians of the times, who were likely to become the tools of the court. No man was ever more than he a master of that sort of eloquence in which 'more is meant than meets the ear.' The prejudices of his auditors were vanquished. From that time forward, whenever the General Assembly held its session at New Haven, it was expected of course that Mr. Whittlesey would gratify the members by exchanging once with his brother Dana."

Chauncey Whittlesey, son of Samuel Whittlesey, born in Wallingford, 1718; Yale College, 1738; ordained in New Haven, March 1, 1758; died, July 24, 1787.

Dr. Bacon in his Historical Discourses, p. 255, quotes the following portion of a prayer from the handwriting of Rev. Chauncey Whittlesey:

"O thou Most High! as thou wast pleased to speak by thy prophet to Rehoboam and the people of Judah and Benjamin, so be pleased in thy providence to speak to the king of Great Britain and Ireland: 'Ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren, but return every man to his house, and thus without the farther effusion of blood.' O God most high and gracious! may tranquility be restored to the nation and to these American States. As thou didst then influence the minds of the men of Judah and Benjamin to refrain from the destruction of their brethren, so, O God! in whose hands are the hearts of all men, Thou canst easily influence the minds of those who are invading our land, and threatening to lay us waste. Would to God that they might be influenced to desist from their cruel and destructive designs."

Naphtali Daggett, D. D., born Attleboro', Mass, Sept. 8, 1727; Yale College, 1748; Prof. of Divinity in Yale Col-

lege from March 4, 1756 till his death, and acting President in 1766–78; died Nov. 25, 1780.

"My first recollections of Dr. Daggett go back to the autumn of 1775, when I entered Yale College. In person he was of about the middle height, strong framed, inclining to be corpulent, slow in his gait, and somewhat clumsy in his movements. When I first knew him, he was about forty-eight years old, and had been twenty years Professor of Divinity, and nine years President. When appointed to the latter station, there was no expectation of uniting the two offices in the same individual; and he took the Presidency only for a time, until a proper person could be found to fill it. This proved more difficult than was expected, and he continued to hold the office until I was a junior in college, in the year 1778. There was a story among the students on this subject, which illustrates one prominent characteristic of the clergy of that day,—I mean, a love of drollery and of keen retort. 'Good morning, Mr. President *pro tempore*,' said one of his clerical brethren, on some public occasion, bowing very profoundly, and laying a marked emphasis on the closing words of his title. 'Did you ever hear of a President *pro æternitate?*' said the old gentleman in reply, drawing himself up with an assumed air of stateliness, and turning the laugh of the whole company on his assailant. There was hardly anything which the old clergy loved better at their occasional meetings than such a keen encounter of the wits.

"For about three years after I entered college, the faculty consisted of Dr. Daggett, who was President and Professor of Divinity, the Rev. Nehemiah Strong, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and two or three tutors. It was in the midst of the Revolutionary War, and the number of students was greater than at any former period, many young men having been placed in the institution by their parents, to prevent them from being drafted into the army. The agitated state of the country was unfavorable to study. The neighborhood of New Haven was, at one time, so drained of provisions for the public service, that it became necessary to dismiss college for want of a competent supply of food for the

consumers. Our proximity to New York, which was occupied by the enemy, created great anxiety for the safety of the students, and the corporation at last decided to remove the students into the country. For nearly two years, the classes were distributed into different towns in the interior ; two at Glastonbury, one at Farmington, and one at Wethersfield. Dr. Daggett, in the meantime, remained at New Haven, in charge of the college buildings and other property, without being statedly engaged in preaching or instruction. For several years there were no regular Commencements,—the graduating classes received their degrees in private. In 1778, Dr. Stiles, who had some time before been elected President, entered on the duties of his office. The exercises of college had already been resumed in New Haven. Dr. Daggett was now freed from the responsibilities of the presidency, and recommenced his labors as Professor of Divinity, preaching to the students regularly in the chapel on the Sabbath.

"These labors were continued about a year, during which the institution was in a state of increasing prosperity under the new President, when everything was thrown into confusion by rumors of a meditated attack on the town by the British under General Tryon. It soon came. On the evening of the 4th of July, 1779, a force of twenty-five hundred men, which had previously sailed from New York, landed in the south part of West Haven, a parish of New Haven, about five miles from the center of the town. College was, of course, broken up ; and the students, with many of the inhabitants, prepared to flee on the morrow into the neighboring country. To give more time for preparation, and especially for the removal of goods, a volunteer company of about a hundred young men was formed, not with the expectation of making any serious stand against such a force, but simply of retarding or diverting its march. In common with others of the students, I was one of the number ; and I well remember the surprise we felt the next morning, July 5th, as we were marching over West bridge towards the enemy, to see Dr. Daggett riding furiously by us on his old black mare, with his long fowling-piece in his hand ready for action. We knew the old

gentleman had studied the matter thoroughly, and satisfied his own mind as to the right and propriety of fighting it out; but we were not quite prepared to see him come forth in so gallant a style to carry his principles into practice. Giving him a hearty cheer as he passed, we turned down towards West Haven, at the foot of the Milford hills, while he ascended a little to the west, and took his station in a copse of wood, where he seemed to be reconnoitering the enemy, like one who was determined to "bide his time." As we passed on towards the south, we met an advance guard of the British; and taking our stand at a line of fence, we fired upon them several times, and then chased them the length of three or four fields, as they retreated, until we suddenly found ourselves involved with the main body, and in danger of being surrounded. It was now our time to run, and we did for our lives. Passing by Dr. Daggett in his station on the hill, we retreated rapidly across West bridge, which was instantly taken down by persons who stood ready for the purpose, to prevent the enemy from entering the town by that road. In the meantime, Dr. Daggett, as we heard the story afterwards, stood his ground manfully, while the British columns advanced along the foot of the hill,—determined to have the battle himself, as we had left him in the lurch—and using his fowling-piece now and then to excellent effect, as occasion offered, under the cover of the bushes. But this could not last long. A detachment was sent up the hill-side to look into the matter; and the commanding officer coming suddenly, to his great surprise, on a single individual in a black coat, blazing away in this style, cried out, "What are you doing there, you old fool, firing on His Majesty's troops?" "*Exercising the rights of war*," says the old gentleman. The very audacity of the reply, and the mixture of drollery it contained, seemed to amuse the officer. "If I let you go this time, you rascal," says he, "will you ever fire again on the troops of His Majesty?" "*Nothing more likely*," said the old gentleman, in his dry way. This was too much for flesh and blood to bear, and it is a wonder they did not put a bullet through him on the spot. However, they dragged him down

to the head of the column, and as they were necessitated by the destruction of West bridge to turn their course two miles farther north to the next bridge above, they placed him at their head, and compelled him to lead the way. I had gone into the meadows, in the meantime, on the opposite side of the river, half a mile distant, and kept pace with the march as they advanced towards the north. It was, I think, the hottest day I ever knew. The stoutest men were almost melted with the heat. In this way they drove the old gentleman before them at mid-day under the burning sun, round through Westville, about five miles into the town, pricking him forward with their bayonets when his strength failed, and when he was ready to sink to the ground from utter exhaustion. Thus they marched him into New Haven, shooting down one and another of the unoffending inhabitants as they passed through the streets, and keeping him in utter uncertainty whether they had not been reserving him for the same fate. When they reached the green, he was recognized by one of the very few tories in the place who had come forward to welcome the troops, and at his request was finally dismissed. His life was, for some time, in danger from extreme exhaustion, and from the wounds he had received. He did, however, so far recover his strength as to preach regularly in the chapel a part of the next year; but his death was no doubt hastened by his sufferings on that occasion. He died about sixteen months after." (Elizur Goodrich in Sprague's Annals, vol. i, pp. 480–2.)

Benj. Trumbull, D. D., born in Hebron, Conn., Dec. 19, 1735; Yale College, 1759; ordained in North Haven, 1760; died, Feb. 2, 1820.

"He had been but a few years in the ministry when the War of the Revolution broke out; and, from its commencement to its close he took the deepest interest, and during much of the time, an active part in the struggle. And when the war was terminated, he labored to fix on an enduring basis, and transmit to posterity what had been so dearly acquired." (Sprague's Annals, p. 584, vol. i.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Prof. Benj. Silliman, LL. D.:

"His patriotism is conspicuous in his History of Connecticut. His historical researches made him familiar with the early struggles of the infant colonies, and especially with those of New England; and the earlier years of his life were cotemporary with the campaigns of the middle of last century, when, after the struggles of more than one hundred years against the combined power of the French and Indians,—that power, so long the scourge of the colonies, was finally broken down by the surrender of Quebec, which took place in the very year (1759) in which he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in Yale College.

"Before he had reached his meridian, the American Revolution summoned to its support the prime of the intelligence, and moral and physical power of the country. In this cause he was ardently engaged. I have heard my father say that Dr. Trumbull, having fulfilled his appropriate duties as chaplain in his regiment, was not satisfied with the use of spiritual weapons alone, or willing to remain in safety with the other non-combatants of the army. At the battle of White Plains, in the autumn of 1776, he shouldered his musket, performed a soldier's duty, and encountered a soldier's dangers, in the ranks. On that occasion, and on other occasions of the same kind, he was seen to load and fire with coolness and courage, as my father distinctly observed. The country has long been familiar with the story of the accident which left both him and the late Colonel Tallmadge in the river Brunx, when the horse of the latter, surprised by the sudden load of another rider, leaping in his flight from the enemy, upon the crupper of the animal which had just descended the bank, he slipped from under them both, and left them to a cold bath in the stream. This anecdote I had from my father, and also another, which evinces equally the zeal and vigilance, if not the discretion, of the devoted patriot:

"In an anxious moment of one of the battles, in the autumn of 1776, in the vicinity of New York—in most of which my father was engaged—Dr. Trumbull, perceiving, as he

thought, that there was great danger to one division of the army, hastened to General Washington, and zealously communicated the information, when the Commander-in-chief, doubtless observing his clerical garb, replied in a kind and calm manner, "Good gentleman, you seem to be very much frightened," and said no more, having, doubtless, before understood perfectly the state of things.

"When, in July, 1779, a British army invaded this town, Mr. Trumbull was among the volunteers, (not amounting, I believe, to one hundred,) who, under the late Hon. James Hillhouse, then commander of the Governor's Guard, checked the advance of the hostile army by firing from behind fences and coverts of trees, upon the advanced guard. They came up from the village of West Haven, along the heights contiguous to the salt meadows, and the bridge being taken up, they were obliged to march up to the West Rock—proceeding with great caution in a day of intense heat; and they arrived in town only at night-fall, and so much exhausted that the town was saved by the delay; for, by the next morning, the country around was aroused, and the army hastened to re-embark, and burned only a few buildings. instead of kindling a general conflagration, as they intended. I have been told by a person who was among the volunteers, that Mr. Trumbull was on horseback, and fired from his saddle, and that when the enemy fired, he secured himself by dropping his head along the horse's neck."

Rev. Mark Leavenworth, son of Thomas, of Stratford, born in Stratford, 1711; fitted for college by Rev. Jedediah Mills, of Ripton; Yale College, 1737; licensed to preach by the New Haven Association in 1738; settled in Waterbury, June, 1739, and ordained March, 1740.

In 1739, when Mr. Leavenworth first came among his people, so great was the dread of Episcopacy, that they required him to give a bond for £500—a sum equal to his "settlement"—to be paid to the society, "if he should within twenty years from that time become a Churchman, or," as was added, "by immorality or heresy render himself unfit for a gospel

minister—to be decided by a council." In 1748–9, he had so gained the confidence of the society that they released him from his £500 bond.

In 1760, in the old French War, he served as chaplain to the 2d Connecticut regiment (under Colonel Samuel Whiting), and endured with spirit the hardships of the campaign.

"In December, 1776, when extraordinary efforts were made to reinforce the Continental army, and a committee was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut to arouse and animate the people 'to use and exert themselves with the greatest expedition,' upon this committee was placed the Rev. Mark Leavenworth." (His. p. 339.)

He was on the State committee for raising troops in the Revolution, and on the 16th of September, 1777, when the oath of fidelity was administered to the freemen of Waterbury, he was the first to receive it, or at least, the man whose name heads the list.

It was in 1784, that a law for securing the "Rights of Conscience" was passed, which permitted a man to join any denomination of Christians he pleased, and thus was a series of reforms inaugurated, which has resulted in the complete separation of church and state.

Mr. Leavenworth died August 20, 1797, in the 86th year of his age, and 58th of his ministry. A.

Enoch Huntington was born in Scotland, Conn., December 15, 1739, and was graduated at Yale College in 1759; ordained pastor of the church in Middletown, Jan. 6, 1762; died, June 12, 1809.

At a general Fast, ordered by Congress, and kept July 20, 1775, Mr. Huntington preached an eloquent sermon, in which he uttered these words:

"It is now a day of peculiar trial, and every good man and lover of his country, under the present aspects of divine providence, and the political and martial movements that have taken place, must feel a very sensible degree of affecting apprehension and concern, and the man ought to be pitied for his weakness, or shunned for his wickedness, 'whose bosom

beats not in his country's cause.'" (From a sermon by Rev. A. W. Hazen.)

Samuel Mills, born in Canton, 1752; Yale College, 1776.

While a student at Yale College he either was drafted or volunteered into the government service, and became a lieutenant of a company of "light horsemen;" was severely wounded in the streets of Philadelphia by a British officer, and was taken to a hospital, senseless. Among the young ladies who volunteered to care for the sick and wounded, was a Miss Sarah Gilpin, daughter of Thomas Gilpin, of Philadelphia, who had the care of Mr. Mills. The wounded and the nurse "fell in love" with each other, and were married after the close of the war. He commenced preaching in Wethersfield, but remained there but a short time, and then went to Chester, and was settled there in 1787, and died there in 1814, aged 62 years, and in the 28th year of his ministry.

He had three wives. His first wife died in 1796, his second in 1801, and the third wife survived him but a short time.

For some years he instructed young men, giving them a higher education than could be had in common schools. He was a very successful teacher, and was much respected and beloved as a pastor by his people, and left his mark for good on the character of many who came after him.

H. and S.

Elizur Goodrich, D. D., born at Rocky Hill, October 26, 1734; Yale College, 1752; settled in Durham, 1756; died, 1797.

"It ought here to be said, to the credit of the American clergy, that the zeal with wnich they entered into our Revolutionary struggle was not a mere ebullition of feeling caught from their people, nor was it owing to any impulse received from the politicians of the day. It was the result of discussions carried on for some years by leading divines among them, in their social meetings, and larger ecclesiastical bodies. All who ever studied under Dr. Dwight, will remember the co-

piousness and fervor with which he argued the question of "The Right of Resistance," the exactness with which he laid down the limitations of that right, and the very guarded principles on which alone he admitted its exercise. This was a class of reasonings to which the subject of this sketch formed an early attachment under the teachings of President Clap. He was thus led, at a later period, to the study of such works as Cumberland's Law of Nature, Grotius, Puffendorf, etc.; and one of his sons who had spent most of his life in the conflicts of the senate, once remarked that he had met with no one in all his intercourse with public men, who had entered more deeply into the great *principles* of law and jurisprudence, or could state an argument on the subject with more binding force. As the result of inquiries thus conducted, he carried the discussion into his pulpit, and urged it upon his people as a *religious duty*, to lay down their property and their lives in the conflict. It is on this subject alone that I find him rising into impassioned eloquence, in the sermons which he left behind. His zeal in the cause made his name familiar to all the country around, as the following anecdote will show: The Tories having possession of Long Island, carried on an active trade in British goods with the small ports along the Sound, from New Haven to the mouth of the Connecticut river. This awakened great indignation among the people of the adjacent towns, who considered Governor Trumbull (though very unjustly) as too remiss in his efforts to put down the trade. At one of the May elections they took a curious mode to mark their dissatisfaction. They sent up to Hartford more than a thousand votes for the "Rev. Elizur Goodrich" to be Governor of Connecticut; a singular specimen of the quaint humor which the Puritan race so often intermingled with their gravest concerns." (Sprague's Annals, vol. i, pp. 509–10.)

Samuel Wales, D. D., born 1746; Yale College, 1767; settled at Milford, 1770; died, Feb. 18, 1794.

"Being an ardent friend to his country's liberties, he served for a short time, in 1776, as chaplain in the Revolutionary army." (Sprague's Annals, vol. i, p. 711.)

Timothy Dwight, D. D. LL. D., born in Northampton, May 14, 1752; Yale College, 1769; tutor at Yale, 1771–7; licensed to preach, and a chaplain in the Connecticut brigade, commanded by General S. H. Parsons, Sept., 1777—Oct., 1778; settled in Greenfield, Conn., Nov. 12, 1783; President of Yale College from Sept., 1795, to his death, Jan. 11, 1817.

The following poem was written by him between September, 1777, and October, 1778.

It was composed in the buoyancy of his own hopes, and designed to encourage the hopes of his countrymen. It was for many years exceedingly popular in Connecticut. The great heart of the author must have bounded with strong pulsations of patriotism, when giving birth to this grand prophetic ode:

COLUMBIA.

BY TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D. D.

Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
The queen of the world, and the child of the skies!
Thy genius commands thee; with rapture behold,
While ages on ages thy splendors unfold.
Thy reign is the last, and the noblest of time,
Most faithful thy soil, most inviting thy clime;
Let the crimes of the East ne'er encrimson thy name,
Be freedom, and science, and virtue, thy fame.

To conquest and slaughter, let Europe aspire;
Whelm nations in blood, and wrap cities in fire;
Thy heroes the rights of mankind shall defend,
And triumph pursue them, and glory attend.
A world is thy realm: for a world be thy laws,
Enlarged as thine empire, and just as thy cause;
On Freedom's broad basis, that empire shall rise,
Extend with the main, and dissolve with the skies.

Fair science her gates to thy sons shall unbar,
And the East see thy morn hide the beams of her star.
New bards, and new sages, unrival'd shall soar
To fame, unextinguished, when time is no more;
To thee, the last refuge of virtue designed,
Shall fly from all nations the best of mankind;
Here, grateful to heaven, with transport shall bring
Their incense, more fragrant than odors of spring.

Nor less shall thy fair ones to glory ascend,
And genius and beauty in harmony blend;
The graces of form shall awake pure desire,
And the charms of the soul ever cherish the fire;
Their sweetness unmingled, their manners refined,
And virtue's bright image, instamped on the mind,
With peace, and soft rapture, shall teach life to glow,
And light up a smile in the aspect of woe.

Thy fleets to all regions thy power shall display,
The nations admire, and the ocean obey;
Each shore to thy glory its tribute unfold,
And the East and the South yield their spices and gold,
As the day-spring unbounded, thy splendor shall flow,
And earth's little kingdoms before thee shall bow,
While the ensigns of union, in triumph unfurled,
Hush the tumult of war, and give peace to the world.

Thus, as down a lone valley, with cedars o'erspread,
From war's dread confusion I pensively strayed—
The gloom from the face of fair heaven retired;
The winds ceased to murmur; the thunders expired;
Perfumes, as of Eden, flowed sweetly along,
And a voice, as of angels, enchantingly sung:
"Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
The queen of the world, and the child of the skies."

Joel Benedict, D. D., pastor of the church in Lisbon, 1771–1782, and in Plainfield, 1784–1816.

During the Revolution he showed himself always decidedly and warmly attached to his country's cause. His friend, Dr. Hart, (of Griswold,) and himself sympathized in relation to this subject, as well as almost every other, and though not directly and officially connected with the war, they hesitated not to show themselves, on all proper occasions, in public and in private, the staunch friends and supporters of liberty. (Sprague.)

Levi Hart, D. D.—Griswold, 1762–1808. During the Revolutionary War he showed himself zealous for his country's independence; and while he was distressed by the scenes of bloodshed and devastation by which the war was attended, he had nevertheless the utmost confidence that we were engaged in a righteous cause. In August, 1775, he

visited the camp at Roxbury, and preached twice on the Sabbath to Colonel Parsons' regiment. In 1783 he delivered a discourse to an assembly convened at Fort Griswold, Groton, commemorative of those gallant men who fell there in defense of their country—Colonel Ledyard at their head—on the 6th of September, 1781. His subject was, "The Causes, the Origin, and Progress of the War, with its Dreadful Effects." It breathed a spirit of patriotism, sympathy, and piety. The original MS. is still in existence. (Sprague, 1: 591.)

Mather Byles, New London, 1757–1768; son of the famous witty and *loyal* pastor of the Hollis Street church in Boston.

He sympathized with his father in his attachment to the government of the mother country, and with his sisters, who lived and died in the old family mansion in Boston, (1835 and 1837,) acknowledging no allegiance except to the British sovereign. On the accession of William IV to the throne, one of them addressed to him a congratulatory epistle, assuring him that the family of Dr. Byles never had renounced, and never would renounce, their allegiance to the British crown.

Ephraim Judson, Norwich, Second church, '71–'78. An enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution. Slow and monotonous in his speech on other topics, on subjects connected with the liberties of the nation, he would kindle into the fervor of soul-stirring eloquence. In the year 1776, he entered the army as Chaplain of Col. Ward's regiment, and did faithful service for some months. Disabled by the hardships and exposures which he encountered in the camp, and in the field, he returned to his people, a confirmed invalid. In 1778 he tendered his resignation, alleging as one reason, "usefulness obstructed by infirm health." (Calkins, 468.)

Benjamin Lord, D.D., Norwich, First church, 1717–1784. Dr. Lord was more than 80 years of age at the breaking out of the war. His last appearance in the pulpit was on the Thanksgiving subsequent to the declaration of peace—an

event which he had often expressed a wish to witness. During the war the current of events was made a topic in his Sunday morning prayer, which occupied a full run of the hour-glass at his side. One Sunday morning he gave in his prayer a somewhat detailed account of an important battle, which, in the (afternoon) on the receipt of more recent news, he was compelled to contradict.

Joseph Strong, D.D., Norwich, First church, 1778–1834. Soon after the installation of Dr. Strong, Lafayette passing through town with a detachment of 2,000 men, encamped on the plain, and in the morning invited Mr. Strong, the pastor of the place to pray with them, which he did.

Nathaniel Whitaker, Norwich, Second church, 1761-1769. Mr. Whitaker published two sermons, "An Antidote against and the Reward of Toryism,"—one at the commencement, the other at the close of the Revolutionary War. He was a Presbyterian, a Controversialist, and stayed but a short time in a place.

Joseph Fish, North Stonington, 1732–1781. Rev. M. N Morris says of him, (Sprague, 1 : 362.) As a subject of the king he was loyal, but with a warm patriotism, he espoused the cause of his country. In the last year of his life, and near the close of the war of independence, he was invited to address his fellow-townsmen assembled to meet the call of Gen. Washington, for an immediate reinforcement, and in his speech he declared ; "were it not that my nerves are unstrung and my limbs enfeebled with age, on such a call as you have, I think I should willingly quit the desk, put off my priestly garments, buckle on the harness, and, with trumpet in hand, hasten to the battle."

Prof. Benjamin Silliman, his grandson, says of him : "One of the most remarkable of his letters is that addressed to my father, Gen. Silliman, July 2, 1776, when he was on the point of taking the field in the great cause of the American Revolution. He decidedly enjoins it upon him, from the highest motives of Christian duty and patriotism, to leave his wife

and his happy home to encounter the hazards of war for the most noble of causes." The Professor adds, "The letter is well worthy of being published as a specimen of the spirit which actuated the good clergymen of that day."

Prof. Silliman, in a letter to Dr. Sprague, continues: Although Mr. Fish was now more than seventy years old he made a journey, in 1776, to the American camp on Harlem Heights and remained several days with my father in his military quarters, the powerful armies of the British being in sight, and conflicts on the outposts not unfrequently taking place. (Sprague, 1 : 365.)

Zebulon Ely, Lebanon, 1782–1824; Yale, 1779. Dr. Sprague says of him, (2 : 192), "When the British were approaching New Haven in July of his senior year, he was employed at an advanced post in firing at them, in company with a few of his fellow-students. He kept his station behind a tree till he was left alone; and before he was aware of it, a scouting party of the enemy concealed under the fence, was well nigh-upon him. He escaped however with the loss of his hat and coat in the chase, in which he was briskly followed by bullets." Associated afterwards with the Trumbulls, and Williamses, as he would not be likely to lose any of his patriotism.

Rev. John Ellis, West Farms, Franklin, was Chaplain in the army of Col. Jedediah Huntington's regiment. He entered the army in 1776, and continued through the war—seven years. In 1779 he took a dismission from his people. After a ministry of ten years at Rehoboth, he returned to Franklin, where he died in 1805. No monument tells where his body lies. Miss Calkins says of him: "He was a man of energetic action, glowing with Christian enterprise. He took a lively interest in those pioneer missions to the West which preceded the formation of the Connecticut Missionary Society, was agent and treasurer of the General Association for New London County."

Andrew Lee, D.D., Hanover, 1768–1832. Dr. Cogswell

of Windham, often mentions him in his diary. He often speaks of his glowing patriotism during the Revolution, and even doubts whether his zeal in sustaining the American cause did not sometimes outstrip his prudence. (Sprague, 1 : 672.)

Rev. Nathaniel Eells, Stonington, 1762–1786. The records of the General Assembly tell us that "Rev. Nathaniel *Ellis* of Stonington, was appointed Chaplain of the regiment to be raised and stationed at and near New London." The name should undoubtedly have been written Eells, as there was in Stonington, at that time, no minister or layman of the name of Nathaniel *Ellis*. The records of the church and society, however, make no mention of his connection with the army. (See letter of Hon. Richard A. Wheeler.)

In a Thanksgiving sermon, preached November 20, 1777, immediately after the defeat of Burgoyne, he says:

"God has blessed the arms of the country with victory and success, beyond our most sanguine expectations. . . . . Hereby that part of our land, tossed and shaken, enjoys rest and quietness: Our secret and intestine enemies stunned and disheartened, new life and spirit conveyed to our armies, and all the inhabitants of the land, animated with strength and gladness to congratulate one another, and to praise the Lord most high. And what a damp must this prove to the European troops, when they hear that the Lord is with us to fight our battles and to pull down our enemies. And when the news does cross the Atlantic, [no cable telegraph,] and pierce the ears of the king and ministry, and parliament of Great Britain, how will they gnash their teeth and melt away to hear that their boasted general, and so great a part of their chosen troops are become a prey to the poor Americans, whom they so evilly treated, so cruelly despised and oppressed."

Rev. Stephen Johnson, Lyme, 1746–1786. *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1876, p. 319, gives an account of the part which this gentleman bore in the early movements of the Revolution.

He had for a parishioner John M'Curdy, a Scotch Irish gentleman of wealth and education, occupying and owning the house now the residence of the Hon. Charles J. M'Curdy. "The two had many conferences on the subject of the possible independence of the colonies. They grew indignant at the serene composure of Gov. Fitch and his associates. The first published article pointing toward unqualified rebellion in case an attempt was made to enforce the stamp act was from the pen of Rev. Stephen Johnson, and it was written under this roof. M'Curdy privately secured its insertion in the *Connecticut Gazette*. It was a fiery article, designed to rouse the community to a sense of the public danger.

Others of a similar character soon followed; while pamphlets from, no one knew whence, fell, no one knew how, into conspicuous places.

Could these walls speak, what tales they might reveal; two sagacious and audacious men trying to kindle a fire; one feeding it with the chips of genius and strong nervous magnetism, the other fanning it with the contents of his broad purse. The alarm was sounded; organizations of the 'Sons of Liberty' were formed in the various colonies; treasonable resolves were handed about with great privacy in New York, but no one had the courage to print them." John M'Curdy took a copy and soon they were published and spread far and wide through New England. This was in September 1765, Before the close of the month, the famous crusade, (which embraced nearly every man in the town of Lyme,) moved from New London and Windham counties against Mr. Ingersoll, the stamp commissioner. "It was then and there that the egg of the Revolution may be said to have been hatched."

MR. AVERY TO ABRAM MARSH.

THOMAS BROCKWAY was the pastor of the Congregational church in Columbia, (then Lebanon church,) during the Revolutionary War. He was born in Lyme, Conn., in the year 1744. He was graduated at Yale College in 1768. He was ordained as pastor, June 24, 1772, and died while on a visit to his native place, July 4, 1807, having held the pastorate

thirty-five years. His funeral was attended in Columbia, July 6, the sermon being preached by Rev. Zebulon Ely of Lebanon, from Hebrews 13: 7, 8. The slab resting over his grave bears this inscription: "As an husband, he was tender; as a father, affectionate; and as a friend, sincere. As a minister of Christ, he shunned not to declare all the counsel of God, and was wise in turning men to righteousness." His children were three sons and ten daughters. Rev. Diodate Brockway, pastor of the Congregational church in Ellington, Conn., 1799–1849, was one of his sons.

Mr. Brockway was small in stature, but of a bold spirit and warm in his advocacy of his country's independence. It is a tradition, believed by persons now living, to be trustworthy, that during public worship, on the Sabbath or lecture day, news came of the burning of New London by the British under Arnold, and that Mr. Brockway dismissed the congregation and "started off with his long gun, and deacons and parishioners to assist in doing battle with the enemy."* That he was willing to share with his people in the pecuniary struggles of that time is clearly shown from the record of the Ecclesiastical Society under date October 18, 1779. His salary was £90 a year, and from the depreciation of the currency, had fallen behind to the amount of £196. And then we have this record:—"Out of the £196 Mr. Brockway proposes to grant £90,—£45 for tax and actual service, which is £15 a year for three years past; the other £45 he gives, the one half to the parish, the other half to support the gospel for the poor of the parish, to be disposed of according to the discretion of the society committee. And for the time to come Mr. Brockway proposes to give £15 a year till the enemy withdraw, and after they withdraw, £10 a year till the Continental debt be paid, and the remainder to be made good as when he settled.

"The above proposals of Mr. Brockway were, this 18th day of October, 1779, publicly, at a legal society meeting, read and explained, and after reasonable time of consideration it was put to vote whether the parish accept of Mr. Brockway's proposals, and voted in the affirmative."

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* Sprague's Annals, Vol. I, p. 605, Note.

The following is from a MS. letter received from Miss Ellen Larned, of Thompson, Conn.:

"I think that all the ministers of Windham county were earnest patriots during the Revolution, helping first to form public opinion, and giving to the last all public aid and comfort to the popular cause. At a meeting of the Windham County Association in 1777, it was agreed that, 'considering the peculiar circumstances of our land during the present calamities of war, wherewith the holy and righteous God is pleased to exercise us, the declension of religion and prevalence of iniquity, we think it our duty to stir up ourselves and the people of our charge, to a diligent attention to our duties, and propose the Gen. Association to recommend professors of religion to renew their covenant with God, that family religion and order might be maintained, &c.'" An address to that effect was accordingly prepared, printed, and a thousand copies distributed among the twenty parishes of Windham county.

Rev. Ebenezer Devotion, of Scotland parish, though dying before the breaking out of the war, deserves to be ranked among the patriot clergy of the Revolution. He was a man of strong character, and much influence. His fellow-citizens in Windham showed their confidence in his judgment by sending him as their representative to the General Assembly in the Stamp Act agitation of 1765, which was, according to Dr. Stiles, "a very singular instance." His successor, Rev. James Cogswell, was a warm friend of the patriot cause, and after the return of peace, was selected to preach the *celebration* sermon at Windham, which was received with great approbation.

Rev. Abiel Leonard, of Woodstock, was deeply concerned in Revolutionary affairs. In May, 1775, he was appointed chaplain of the Third Connecticut regiment, at the earnest request of General Putnam. He is described "as a man of noble presence, a finished gentleman in manners, and an accomplished pulpit orator." He was very popular in the army, and officiated on many public occasions to great acceptance. July 18, 1775, all the companies under General

Putnam's immediate command assembled on Prospect Hill to hear the Declaration of Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of the war, and receive the elegant new standard presented by Connecticut. Mr. Leonard read the Declaration, and "made an animated, pathetic, and highly patriotic address to the army, followed by a pertinent prayer." You will see in Dr. Tarbox's Life of Putnam several allusions to Mr. Leonard's public ministration. Besides these he was active in providing religious reading for the soldiers. I have seen a notice of "A Prayer composed for the benefit of the soldiery in the American Army to assist them in their private devotions, by Abiel Leonard, Chaplain to Gen. Putnam's regiment," Cambridge: printed by S. E. Hall, 1775. It was said to be in nine pages; "a highly creditable performance," but I have not been able to find it. It is well worth notice, as, perhaps, the first attempt to furnish religious literature for soldiers.

The church at Woodstock was very reluctant to relinquish their pastor, but yielded to the call of their country. The following letter will show you the estimate in which he was held:

"*To the Church and Congregation at Woodstock:*

"Mr. Leonard is a man whose exemplary life and conversation must make him highly esteemed by every person who has the pleasure of being acquainted with him. It therefore can be no surprise to us to hear they are loth to part with him. His influence in the army is great. He is employed in the glorious work of attending to the morals of a brave people who are fighting for their liberties—the liberties of the people of Woodstock—the liberty of all America. We therefore hope that knowing how nobly he is employed, the congregation of Woodstock will cheerfully give up to the public a gentleman so very useful, and when by the blessing of a kind Providence this glorious and unparalleled struggle for our liberties is at an end, we have not the least doubt that Mr. Leonard will with redoubled joy be received in the open arms of a congregation so very dear to him as the good people of Woodstock are. This is what is hoped for—this is what is expected by the congregation of Woodstock's sincere well wishers and very humble servants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
ISRAEL PUTNAM."

HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE,
24th of March, 1776.

Mr. Leonard went with the army to New York, and continued to serve as chaplain to General Putnam. In 1777 he received the degree of S. T. D. from New Jersey College. His end was most unfortunate. Overstaying his furlough in consequence of sickness in his family, he was met on his return to camp by the news of his supersedure. Very impulsive by nature, and keenly sensitive to applause or censure, he was unable to endure the disgrace and mortification, and took his life with his own hand.

Rev. Elisha Atkins, afterwards pastor of the First church of Killingly, served as chaplain during the war.

FROM A MS. LETTER RECEIVED FROM MISS ELLEN LEARNED, OF THOMPSON.

Election sermons were preached in Connecticut from 1674 until 1830, or thereabouts—in all, 156 years. To preach these sermons, men of the first ability were appointed by the Governor. These sermons were expected to treat of the sins, the dangers, and the duties of the year. They thus are the exponents of the temper of the times during this period, and are therefore, historically, of considerable value.

From a sermon delivered in 1766, by Jonathan Lee, of Salisbury; born, 1718; Yale College, 1742; died, 1788:

"Dominion, or right to rule, is evidently founded neither in nature or grace, but compact, and confederation."

From a sermon delivered in 1770, by Stephen Johnson, of Lyme; born, 1725; Yale College, 1743; died, 1786:

"We rejoice, we boast in the British constitution, and in our royal charter, the best privileges and immunities, the happiest constitution and form of government in the whole world; the next matter of highest moment to us, to our enjoyment of the best blessings we can hope from civil polity, is a good administration pursuant to the spirit and grand intention of it.

"It were ingratitude to God, and to our British sovereigns, not to acknowledge we have generally enjoyed ample indulgence and protection of our liberties and privileges under the

administration of the British court; especially since the glorious revolution. But justice requires it to be said, we have ever made answerable returns of affection and loyalty, duty, and obedience. We never betrayed their trusts, their confidence, or their interests; but every requisition constitutionally made, has been readily answered with duty and loyalty, to the good acceptance of His Majesty and the British court.

"This day brings us the recognition and enjoyment of the important privileges we hold; by the spirit of the British constitution and by our royal charter—privileges more precious than the gold of Ophir, and of greater importance to the welfare of human society, than all the treasures of the Indies."

From a sermon preached in 1775, by JOSEPH PERRY, of East Windsor; born, 1733; Harvard College, 1752; died, 1783.

"In this State have they endured with great patience and fortitude, till at length we are assured, by good intelligence, open hostility is commenced by the king's soldiers. In the late battle at *Concord* and *Lexington, inglorious to the British arms!* they have imbrued their hands in the innocent blood of their fellow subjects with a relentless cruelty and inhuman barbarity, too much like that we have experienced from the merciless savages of the wilderness.

"The metropolis of that unhappy province is now become a *garrison town*, the inhabitants, by thousands, confined within its walls, in the greatest consternation, from fearful apprehensions of being put to the sword, or of perishing by famine.

"As members of a community, our interests are at stake as well as others;—whatever, therefore, is proper for us to do in our places, should be diligently attended to; we should encourage our people, and animate them to stand firm in the liberties wherewith GOD, NATURE, and CHRISTIANITY have made them FREE, and never thro' fear of suffering loss, or any temptation, basely give up the rights of Men and Christians; for, as on the one hand, he that in his way, *shall seek*

to save his life, shall lose it; so, on the other, *he that shall lose his life*, in religiously supporting so good a cause, shall find it, and in the end shall receive an hundred fold."

From a sermon preached in 1777, by JOHN DEVOTION, of Saybrook; born, 1738; Yale College, 1754; died, 1802:

"Britons, elate with confidence in martial skill, looking down with disdainful contempt on the sons of America, marched out to Lexington, in all the pride of vainglorying. American annals record the memorable morn. Ye fields, be witness of innocent blood—that first opening of the sluices not yet shut. They returned under the influence of a panic which the Lord of Hosts suffers to fall upon self-sufficient creatures. When our brethren, not yet suitably arranged, near Charlestown, took the ground, fierce wafted o'er the British Legions came, boasting their intended route through Cambridge, Roxbury, and Boston Neck: like sheep to the slaughter, their road 'through the dark valley of the shadow of death,' oft trod by mortals never to return, till the archangel, with the trump of God arouse them.

"God's servants in authority, should imitate him 'all whose ways are judgment;' who speaks 'in righteousness.' America groaning under the most barbarous treatment—condemned, unheard—her children pronounced rebels, when in the peace of God and the king—praying for the welfare of the king, and nation; sentenced to be dragged away in chains to Britain, upon suspicion of crimes:—troops let loose upon us, sheathing their swords in the bowels of them, whose honest industry fed great numbers in the British isle, loudly calls upon you, to form laws in righteousness, consonant to the mild and equitable government of Zion's King."

From a sermon delivered in 1778, by CHAUNCEY WHITTLESEY of New Haven; born, 1718; Yale College, 1738; died, 1787:

"We are naturally led to reflect, with gratitude, upon the distinguishing goodness of God towards this Colony or State, from its beginning down to this day; his distinguishing goodness in providing for this people, and raising up and setting

over them, such a succession of pious and godly rulers ; who under the influence of the great principles of religion, and the fear of God, have sought diligently the public weal, and been eminently useful in their day. What province, state or kingdom, from the beginning of the world, to this time, has been, in this respect, more highly favored, than Connecticut? I know not any. And hence this has been one of the most happy provinces upon the face of the earth."

From a sermon delivered in 1780, by NATHAN WILLIAMS of Tolland ; born, 1735 ; Yale College, 1755 ; died, 1829 :

" Disinterested benevolence is a Christian virtue that binds the hearts of good men to their fellow creatures ; but it rarely operates as a principle in state police. Self-interest is the great bond of union between states and kingdoms. From hence also all the advantages which these American plantations derived from their connections with Great Britain ; and from the same source have arisen also those many instances of unkindness and oppression, under which America has groaned.

" This principle, with an infatuating blindness (often its attendant), drove the British king, with many subordinate tools of despotism to such a series of oppression, as could not fail to dissolve every bond that connected America with Britain ; and forced the former to act upon that *innate principle of self-defense*, by repelling force with force.

" This hazardous, but just and needful war, has been prosecuted by America, with that unremitting ardor, in the midst of countless difficulties, which nothing but a lively sense of the justice and great importance of the cause could inspire.

" And as this contest has been in defense of that liberty which is a foundation-blessing, giving value to every other good,—every individual has been deeply interested in it. Hence, he ought to feel and acknowledge himself under very great personal obligations to his country, for all that blood and treasure she has expended in the present calamitous war. And whilst we bow the knee in humble gratitude to that God, who doeth his pleasure, without control, for his many wonderful and gracious interpositions for this American em-

pire—we ought to acknowledge our obligations to those many patrons of human liberty, who have stept forth in their country's cause; denied themselves the solid pleasures of domestic society; hazarded the loss of ease, yea, and of life itself, by boldly venturing where thickest dangers come,—and have perhaps themselves received the fatal thrust designed for human freedom."

From a sermon delivered in 1783, by EZRA STILES, D.D., President of Yale College; born, 1727; Yale College, 1746; died, 1795.

"The crown and glory of our confederacy is the *amphictyonic council* of the GENERAL CONGRESS standing on the annual election of the united respective states, and revocable at pleasure.—Page 23.

"Jefferson, who poured the soul of the continent into the monumental act of Independence."

"TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

"I beg leave, in the first place, with the greatest honor, the most profound and dutiful respect, to address myself to his excellency, the Governor of this State.

"May it please your Excellency, we account ourselves happy, most illustrious Sire, that by the free election and annual voice of the citizens, God hath for so many years past called you up to the supreme magistracy in this commonwealth. And while we rejoice that this State embosoms numerous characters equal to the highest offices of government: yet should this day's election fall again upon him, who, according to the interpretation of his name, Jehovah hath *given us*, it would diffuse a joy through the United States.

"And should you now resign the chair, you would enjoy the reflection that you had been carried through a scene of the most distinguished usefulness, and lived to see the end of the war and establishment of American liberty and INDEPENDENCE.

"It is observable, that, by a particular turn of genius and a peculiar discipline in early life, God often prefaces great characters, for that future usefulness and eminence, for which

they are designed in the world. This was conspicuous in the instances of *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Daniel:* neither of whom, in youth, thought that they were training up for the eminent spheres of action in which they afterwards moved.

"Endowed with a singular strength of the mental powers, with a vivid and clear perception, with a penetrating and comprehensive judgment, embellished with the acquisition of *academical*, *theological*, and *political* erudition, your Excellency became qualified for a very singular variety of usefulness in life. Instituted in the *sciences*, the *Hebrew literature*, and *theology*, you were not only prepared for the sanctuary, but being expert in all questions touching the law of your God, you became qualified to judge how we, the Ministers of the Gospel under your government ought to *behave ourselves in the house of God;* while it has pleased God to call you up to other services in civil life. Thus the great *Melchisedec* was priest of the Most High God, and King of *Salem*. So *Moses*, though of the tribe of *Levi* and *learned in all the wisdom of Egypt*, was called of God to be King in Jerusalem.

"An early entrance into civil improvement, and fifty years' service of our country, with an uncommon activity and dispatch in business, had familiarized the whole rota of duty in every office and department, antecedent and preparatory to the great glory of your Excellency's life, the last *eight* years' administration at the head of this commonwealth; an administration which has rendered you the *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of your country, and our *dulce decus atque tutamen.*

"We adore the God of our fathers, the God and Father of the spirits of all flesh, that he hath raised you up for such a time as this; and that he hath put into your breast a wisdom, which I cannot describe without adulation—a patriotism and intrepid resolution, a noble and independent spirit, an unconquerable love of LIBERTY, RELIGION, and our COUNTRY, and that grace, by which you have been carried through the arduous labors of an high office, with a dignity and glory never before acquired by an American Governor. Our enemies revere the names of TRUMBULL and WASHINGTON.

"In honoring the State and councils of Connecticut, you, illustrious Sire, have honored yourself to all the confederate sister states, to the Congress, to the Gallic empire, to Europe, and to the world, to the present and distant ages. And should you now lay down your office, and retire from public life, we trust that you may take this people to record, in the language in which that holy patriot, the pious Samuel, addressed *Israel*, and say unto us—*I am old, and grey-headed—and I have walked before you from my childhood unto this day. Behold, here I am, witness against me before the Lord: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whom have I received any bribe, to blind my eyes therewith? and I will restore it you. And they said thou hast not defrauded nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught of any man's hand. And he said unto them, the Lord is witness against you, and his Anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found aught in my hand. And they answered, he is witness.*

"May you receive a reward from the supreme Governor of the Universe; which will be a reward of grace. For although your Excellency might adopt the words of that illustrious governor NEHEMIAH, and say, *think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people*, yet your ultimate hope for immortality, will be founded in a more glorious merit, than that achieved by mortals, in the most illustrious scenes of public usefulness. May the momentary remnant of your days be crowned with a placid tranquility.

"And when you shall have finished your work on earth, may you be received to the rewards of the just, and shine in the general assembly of the first-born through eternal ages. Amen."—Pages 87, 88, 89, 90.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS.

In the articles of peace in the treaty of September, 1783, Connecticut was acknowledged by George III to be what she claimed to be in the Declaration of Independence—a "free and independent State."

"The meteor flag" of England, borne by the incendiary troops of Gov. Tryon, no longer struck terror in the hearts of the inhabitants, fleeing from their burning houses in Danbury, Norwalk, Fairfield, and New Haven. The murderers of Ledyard, led on by Benedict Arnold, no longer threatened the inhabitants of New London. The British ships that for so many years had vexed Long Island Sound, had left these waters. The people of Connecticut could now securely sleep under the ample fold of her own flag, which her sons had gallantly upheld during a seven years' war, and could sit under their own three vines, having none to molest or make them afraid. The returned soldiers might in their sleep be startled by visions of Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, Monmouth, or Germantown, but could awake in the morning under the roof-tree of their own home, to hear the voices of loved ones, and to enjoy the good cheer always given by Connecticut housewives.

The people of Connecticut seemed universally to rejoice in the results of the war.

We have seen how Governor Jonathan Trumbull, for his services in the Revolution, was glorified in the General Assembly in 1783. In the flushing of their hopes at this time, the people of Connecticut were willing to glorify the ministers for their services in the Revolution, for their wise counsels, for their moral courage in times of darkness and danger, for the cheerfulness with which they suffered pecuniary loss in the depreciation of continental money, in which their salaries were paid, and for nobly keeping up heart and hope when others were discouraged.

The pulpit was at this time a throne of power. The white wig was a crown of glory, and the voice of the minister was

like the voice of the morning, waking the people into the activities of life.

The people were willing to bestow all due honor upon the order for their services in the past history of the Commonwealth.

The following description of the ministers of Connecticut at that time, is from the pen of one of their number, Rev. Timothy Dwight, in his poem entitled "Greenfield Hill":

Ah! knew he but his happiness, of men
Not the least happy he, who, free from broils,
And base ambition, vain and bustling pomp,
Amid a friendly cure and competence,
Tastes the pure pleasures of parochial life.
* * * * * *
Though oft compelled to meet the gross attack
Of shameless ridicule, and towering pride,
Sufficient good is his; good, real, pure,
With guilt unmingled. Rarely forced from home,
Around his board, his wife and children smile;
Communion sweetest, nature here can give,
Each fond endearment, office of delight,
With love and duty blending. Such the joy,
My bosom oft has known. His, too, the task,
To rear the infant plants, that bud around;
To ope their little minds to truth's pure light;
To take them by the hand, and lead them on,
In that straight, narrow road, where virtue walks;
To guard them from a vain, deceiving world;
And point their course to realms of promised life.

His, too, the esteem of those, who weekly hear
His words of truth divine; unnumbered acts
Of real love attesting, to his eye,
Their filial tenderness. Where'er he walks,
The friendly welcome and inviting smile
Wait on his steps, and breathe a kindred joy.

Oft, too, in friendliest association joined,
He greets his brethren, with a flowing heart,
Flowing with virtue; all rejoiced to meet
And all reluctant parting; every aim,
Benevolent, aiding with purpose kind;
While, seasoned with unblemished cheerfulness,
Far distant from the tainted mirth of vice,

Their hearts disclose each contemplation sweet
Of things divine; and blend in friendship pure,
Friendship sublimed by piety and love.

All Virtue's friends are his: the good, the just,
The pious, to his house their visits pay,
And converse high hold of the true, the fair,
The wonderful, the moral, the divine:
Of saints, and prophets, patterns bright of truth,
Lent to a world of sin, to teach mankind,
How virtue, in that world, can live, and shine;
Of Learning's varied realms; of Nature's work;
And that blessed Book, which gilds man's darksome way,
With light from heaven, of blest Messiah's throne
And kingdom, prophecies divine fulfilled,
And prophecies more glorious yet to come,
In renovated days; of that bright world,
And all the happy trains which that bright world
Inhabit, whither virtue's sons are gone:
While God the whole inspires, adorns, exalts,
The source, the end, the substance, and the soul.

This, too, the task, the blessed, the useful task,
To invigor order, justice, law, and rule;
Peace to extend, and bid contention cease;
To teach the words of life; to lead mankind
Back from the wild of guilt, and brink of woe,
To Virtue's house and family; faith, hope,
And joy to inspire; to warm the soul
With love to God, and man; to cheer the sad,
To fix the doubting, rouse the languid heart;
The wanderer to restore; to spread with down
The thorny bed of death; console the poor,
Departing mind, and aid its lingering wing.
To him, her choicest pages Truth expands,
Unceasing, where the soul-intrancing scenes,
Poetic fiction boasts, are real all;
Where beauty, novelty, and grandeur, wear
Superior charms, and moral worlds unfold
Sublimities, transporting and divine.

Not all the scenes Philosophy can boast,
Tho' them with nobler truths he ceaseless blends,
Compare with these. They, as they found the mind,
Still leave it; more informed, but not more wise.
These wiser, nobler, better, make the man.

Thus every happy mean of solid good
His life, his studies, and profession yield.
With motives hourly new, each rolling day,
Allures through Wisdom's path, and Truth's fair field,
His feet to yonder skies. Before him heaven
Shines bright, the scope sublime of all his prayers,
The meed of every sorrow, pain, and toil.

Then, O ye happy few! whom God allows
To stand His messengers, in this bad world,
And call mankind to virtue, weep no more,
Though pains and toils betide you; for what life,
On earth, from pains and toils was ever free?
When Wealth and Pride around you gayly spread
Their vain and transient splendor, envy not.
How oft (let Virtue weep!) is this their all?
For you, in sunny prospect, daily spring
Joys, which nor pride can taste, nor Wealth can boast;
That, planted here, beyond the wintery grave
Revive and grow with ever-vernal bloom.

Hail these, oh hail! and be 't enough for you,
To 'scape a world unclean; a life to lead
Of usefulness, and truth; a Prince to serve,
Who suffers no sincere and humble toil
To miss a rich reward; in Death's dark vale,
To meet unbosomed light; beyond the grave
To rise triumphant, freed from every stain,
And cloth'd with every beauty; in the sky
Stars to outshine; and, round th' eternal year,
With saints, with angels, and with Christ to reign.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, the attention of the several states was turned to the plan brought forward in the Continental Congress, forming a federation or federal union between them.

But the states were divided in opinion concerning what powers should be granted to the new proposed government, and what should be withheld. For instance, Connecticut recommended the following amendment: "Provided that no land army shall be kept up by the United States in time of peace, nor any officers nor pensioners kept in pay by them, who are not in actual service, except such as are, or may be rendered unable to support themselves by wounds re-

ceived in battle in the service of the said states, agreeably to the provisions already made by a resolution of Congress." It was not until March 1, 1781, that all the states consented to become parties to this contract, by which this first Federal Constitution was established. As early as the autumn of 1782 Connecticut began to feel the evils inflicted on her by Congress under this Federal Constitution.

In the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania for the Susquehanna lands, Congress virtually decided in favor of the claims of Pennsylvania, by giving her jurisdiction over the disputed lands, much to the chagrin and loss of the people of Connecticut, some of whom believed that the mother country would have given a different decision. Many of the people of Connecticut felt disappointed and humiliated by the Federal Congress thus giving the jurisdiction to Pennsylvania, and exposing the people of Connecticut to be dispossessed of the lands which they held under the title of Connecticut. It should be remembered that representatives from these lands had been members of the Connecticut Legislature. A satisfactory account of the whole matter may be found in a pamphlet of 115 pages, written by Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D. D.

In 1786 her sister states in Congress assembled showed the disposition to have a share in her grand patrimonial inheritance of Western lands. She therefore found it prudent to grant a large part of those lands to the United States, on the implied condition of her retaining the lands in Ohio, called the Western Reserve.

Not long after the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, in 1783, certain evils consequent upon the war began to make their appearance. The people of the commonwealth began soberly to calculate what they had lost and what they had gained by the war. They had lost the friendship of the mother country ; "the bulwark of the Protestant faith ;" and they had gained the favor of the hereditary enemy of that country, a nation of Roman Catholics and Infidels.

They had lost the advantages of the direct trade with Eng-

land, for which, in some cases, they had received a bounty on their exports, and were placed on a level with other nations. They had also lost the West India trade, which the people of Connecticut felt deeply.

As they had in part lost their commerce, so they had lost the value of their agricultural products, by means of which they had carried on their commerce. The State was largely in debt, and destitute of means for paying it. They had gained the liberty which they sought, but, for a time, they found her not fruitful, but barren.

Some of the people of Connecticut, in their disappointment at the result of the Revolution, cast longing eyes to Canada, and were ready to move there, in order to enjoy the advantages which they had lost by the war.

There was a redundancy of labor, but little or no market for the productions of labor.

Emigrants from Connecticut went to Canada, or to Vermont, or to different localities in the States of New York and Ohio.

The first Federation, or Federal Union formed by the first Federal Constitution, proved to be unsatisfactory.

In May, 1787, delegates appointed by the several states met in Philadelphia, and framed a new Constitution, and all the several states became parties to the contract, thus abolishing the first Federation and forming a second or new Federation, or Federal Union.

Connecticut in the Convention at Philadelphia, found that the larger states formed the design of giving themselves the preëminence, and of degrading the smaller states. This degradation she escaped, only by the great exertions of her delegates, acting with other delegates from the smaller states.

When the frame of the Constitution prepared in Philadelphia was brought before a Convention in Hartford, appointed by the towns, January 4, 1788, Connecticut became a party to the contract by a vote of 128 in favor and 40 against.

In some part of the period between the treaty of peace in 1783 and the organization of the new government in 1789, when Washington was made President, and even afterwards, there was great disappointment as to the results of the war.

From a letter of Col. David Humphreys to Gen. Alexander Hamilton, it appears that the loyalists, from this depressed state of public feeling, borrowed some hopes that the union between the states and the British government, which had been severed by the war, might be restored. It is not strange that the ministers of Connecticut, who had promoted the Revolution, should lose, in this period, something of the high consideration which they once enjoyed in the public mind while this Revolution was in progress.

The party in the state that advocated the new Federal Constitution was called Federal, and the party that opposed it, the Anti-Federal.

The acts of the new or present Federal government when that went into operation likewise laid a foundation for party differences.

The French Revolution, which, to some extent, grew out of the American Revolution, increased and intensified those differences.

The ministers of Connecticut very generally belonged to the federal party, which, it is said, favored England.

It should be remembered that many who returned from the war brought back its vices. "Our army swore dreadfully in Flanders," said Uncle Toby. Some of the Connecticut troops, when they returned, swore dreadfully, to the great disgust of their ministers and kindred.

The great evils and immoralities connected with irredeemable paper currency should likewise be taken into account.

After the republican or democratic party was formed in Connecticut, it showed strong dissatisfaction with the Charter of Charles II, as the basis of the government of the state.

In the long contest existing between Connecticut and the government of Great Britain, that government was considered as one source of power, and the people, that is, the people of Connecticut, as another source of power.

By the central doctrine of the Declaration of Independence already mentioned, the people of Connecticut were considered as paramount to the government of Great Britain.

The democrats went on to apply the same principle to the

government of Connecticut, existing at this time, and the people within its boundary. The people, it was said, were the source of all political power, "*vox populi, vox Dei.*"

In the intercourse between the French and the Americans, the former had gained from the latter a knowledge of those political principles which were the basis of revolutionary action against Great Britain. This knowledge they carried back into France, and used it to promote the French Revolution. The Americans, on their part, had learned from the French loose notions of morals and religion, and their sneers against the clergy, and thus it happened that each nation, in the practical use of the lessons taught by the other, became, in some respects, a loser.

Some of the ministers of Connecticut, in their disgust at the repeated attempts and repeated failures of the people of France to form a government satisfactory to themselves, were inclined to think that the central doctrine of the Declaration of Independence was proved to be false by a *reductio ad absurdum.* Indeed, numbers of the ministers, if they had expressed their feelings, would have been ready to adopt the language of Edmund Burke to Charles James Fox, in their celebrated passage-at-arms in parliament. "This cursed French Revolution envenoms everything."

"All men are created equal," is a "glittering generality" in the Declaration of Independence, well adapted to the purpose which the writer had in view, but it was adopted by some who wished to destroy all the distinctions among men, taught by the "Assembly of Divines" Catechism; by the Bible and by the common sense of man. The equality of men gradually became a favorite doctrine among a portion of the people of the state and of the country.

Twenty years ago, an Englishman, a Frenchman, and an American, all of them intelligent men, were engaged in a free conversation. The Englishman says: "I have traveled through the United States, and I found that the people of that country do not care much for liberty. What they love is equality. We Englishmen love liberty, but damn the equality." The Frenchman said: "I have traveled through the

United States and through England. The Englishman talks about liberty, and the Americans love equality, but we Frenchmen love fraternity, which is better than either."

The ministers, who had hitherto been considered as superior to the laity in intelligence, virtue, and good manners, found that after this doctrine had gained currency, they had lost something of the respect in the minds of some of the people which had formerly been entertained for them. They could say of them, as Paul said of some whom he taught: "Ye have reigned as kings without us (your teachers)."

In the Revolution the writings of Thomas Paine had been popular among the people generally. Some of them were read at the head of the regiments. For a considerable period after the Revolution other writings of his, of an infidel character, were circulated among the people, which contributed somewhat to lessen the influence of the ministers. About the same time certain religionists attacked the doctrines, the dress, the learning and the manners of the ministers, and gained proselytes.

The ministers were in a dilemma. While under the British crown they had been in the habit, in their preaching, of forming public sentiment on all political subjects important to the colonies. They did this successfully, because there was, in fact, but one side present in the congregation. The people went along with them, because they advocated the rights of their people in opposition to British authority, but, at the time we are speaking of, their congregations were frequently divided into two parties; if they should preach federalism, a portion would be dissatisfied; if they should preach democracy, another portion would be dissatisfied. If they should preach in favor of the French revolution, one portion of their people would be dissatisfied; if they should preach in opposition to the French revolution, another portion would be dissatisfied, and thus they found that they must dismiss politics from the pulpit if they intended to retain both parties in their congregations.

In the period of thirty years between the adoption of the Federal Constitution in Connecticut in 1788, and the adoption

of the State Constitution in 1818, there were party differences of opinion which divided the population of Connecticut. One of the parties was made up of conservative men, including nearly all the Congregational ministers, the largest portion of the members of the Congregational churches, and the substantial, well-to-do people of the Congregational denomination. The graduates of Yale College, the leading lawyers and physicians generally belonged to this party. It embraced a large part of the wealthy men in the State. This party was denominated the Federal party.

The other party was made up of progressive men, and included those who were discontented with the government of Connecticut, and who wanted a new constitution, in place of the charter of Charles II. To this party belonged the dissenters from the Standing Order generally, the Baptists, the Universalists, the Methodists, after they commenced operations in the State, in 1790, and the Episcopalians, in the latter portion of the term mentioned. This party was denominated the Democratic party, and after it was joined by the Episcopalians, the Toleration party.

The democratic party advocated a new State constitution. They professed great love for the people, and felt that they were capable of forming a constitution that would be furnished with checks and guarantees that would prevent men in office from abusing their power. Their language was: We have changed our government once, by throwing off the authority of Great Britain; we have changed it a second time, by adopting the first federal constitution; we have changed it a third time, by adopting the present federal constitution; and now let us change it a fourth time, by adopting a new constitution for the State, just as each of the other states, excepting Rhode Island and Connecticut, has adopted a constitution of its own.

The progressive party complained of the government of Connecticut, first, because it compelled the tax-payers to support religion. The reason given by the conservative party for requiring all to support religion was, that all were benefited by religion, and, therefore, all should support religion,

just as they were required to support roads and bridges and schools, on the ground that all are benefited by roads and bridges and schools.

They complained, secondly, that the members of Congress, and the assistants, were elected by a general ticket, instead of under the district system. To this complaint it was replied that abler representatives could be selected from the whole state by the general ticket, than by the district system.

They complained, thirdly, that the possession of landed estate was made a qualification for exercising the right of suffrage. To this it was replied that a property qualification was required, because only those who pay the taxes should vote the taxes, and, as a general rule, that every one who wished to become a voter, could, by industry and economy, obtain the property necessary to qualify him to be a voter. It could also be said that in other states, such as Virginia and South Carolina, where there was much political wisdom, and honor, and in Massachusetts, where there was so much general intelligence and thrift, a property qualification was deemed necessary and safe, as it was in the mother country, from which their fathers had emigrated.

They complained, fourthly, that offices were held too long, and insisted that rotation in office was preferable. To this it was replied, that by rapid rotation in office the people would be served by apprentices, and not by master-workmen, who had had the benefit of experience.

They complained, fifthly, that the Congregational denomination was a privileged class. To this it was replied, that the Congregationalists had originally laid the foundations of the religious, political, and literary institutions of the state, and that if in consequence of this they enjoyed some privileges, it was not a ground for complaint.

During this period there was much party excitement. In 1801, on the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, there was a festival held at Wallingford, in commemoration of the event. At this festival ten thousand people were estimated to be present. A sermon was delivered by Rev. Stanley

Griswold, of New Milford, from the text found in Romans, xii, 14–21 : "Bless them who persecute you," etc. An oration was delivered by Abraham Bishop, and a song, entitled "Jefferson and Liberty," was publicly sung for the first time.

A similar meeting was held in other places, the last one at Litchfield, August 6, 1806, for the special purpose of encouraging and relieving Selleck Osborn, the talented poet and editor of the *Witness*, who had long been incarcerated there. Several thousands were present on this occasion.

"When Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States, many good men were exceedingly distressed and alarmed. The thought of having a Chief Magistrate who was understood to be an unbeliever, was extremely painful. Dr. Azel Backus participated in these feelings, and did not hesitate to express them in the pulpit. On this account he was prosecuted for a libel against Mr. Jefferson, and arraigned before the District Court of the United States. The cause, however, after having been repeatedly postponed, was finally dismissed, without coming to trial.

"This prosecution excited great interest in Connecticut. Some of the most distinguished lawyers proffered their services to Dr. Backus, and numerous friends stood ready to defray all the expense to which he might be subjected.

"There were some incidents connected with this prosecution, which afforded much amusement to his friends. When he was first summoned to appear before the court, which was then sitting in Hartford, the marshal called on him very early in the morning, and informed him that it would be necessary that he should be in Hartford by twelve o'clock. He immediately prepared for the journey, and in company with the marshal, rode to Litchfield, about eight miles, before breakfast. While there, the Hon. Uriel Holmes, then member of Congress, furnished him with his own horse and carriage,—his horse being a remarkably fleet and powerful animal. On starting for Hartford, the marshal, being on horseback, found it necessary to put spurs to his steed, to keep in sight of his prisoner. Coming near enough to call to him, he exclaimed, 'Mr. Backus, you ride as if the d—l was

after you.' 'Just so, just so,' he replied, and rode on not at all abating his speed."—(Sprague's Annals, vol. ii, p. 286.)

Thus it appears that one party commenced prosecutions against Selleck Osborn under the laws of Connecticut, and the other party commenced prosecutions against Azel Backus, under the laws of the United States.

The conservative party were very strongly attached to the government of Connecticut formed under the charter. For it had grown up, they said, out of the wants of the colony, and was the product of the wisdom of the colony from 1662 to the period we are considering. It had conferred on the commonwealth, intelligence, virtue, and happiness.

The progressive party were clamorous for a change. It may be that they over-estimated the value of written constitutions as safeguards of liberty. They had not yet learned that "the legislative lion will not be entangled in the meshes of a logical net. The legislature will always make the power which it wishes to exercise, unless it be so organized as to contain within itself the sufficient check."—(See Life of Governeur Morris, vol. iii, p. 323.) It may be that they were not aware that the people themselves, for whose benefit constitutions are framed, would, in the heats of party spirit, recklessly sever the bonds of the constitution, as "flax that falls asunder at the touch of fire."

France, at a certain date in this period, had had six constitutions, Pennsylvania two, Georgia two, and Vermont two.

It is interesting to the historian to look back upon that series of causes and effects which has brought about some particular condition of public affairs. The weakness of the colony, and the fear of the Indians first, then the fear of the Dutch of New Amsterdam, backed by their "high mightinesses" of Old Amsterdam, and afterwards of the French of Canada, backed by the military and naval power of Louis XV,—these were the causes that inclined the colony to continue under the protection of the crown of England.

But when their fears were removed by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the colony was prepared to set up for independence in order that she might carry out those notions of local law

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and self-government to which she had always been inclined. She had rejoiced in the generous charter of Charles II, so long as that charter was their protection against the encroachments of Parliament.

But after they had won their independence, the charter lost much of its value in their eyes, and in 1818, it gave place to the present constitution.

Thus the Revolution of 1776 prepared the way for the Revolution of 1818.

Some of the ministers lived to see both Revolutions, aiding the one and opposing the other. When the General Association in June, 1875, appointed a committee on the subject we are now considering, they did but express the feelings of the people of Connecticut generally, that in the reminiscences of 1776, and of the Revolution, the ministers of Connecticut should not be forgotten. But they are now all sleeping in the midst of their several flocks, who knew their voice and their crook, as they led them through green pastures and beside still waters. Their names we would not willingly let die.

Dr. Franklin expressed the wish to visit the earth after a cycle of a hundred or two hundred years, to see the results of the political experiment which he and others were making. "We know not what a range the spirit takes." We can believe that if the spirits of the just made perfect take an interest in human affairs, that the ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution look upon us the ministers now, with such a love as that which parents bear to children, just as we look back to them with the love which children bear to parents. We can believe that on this great historic year a goodly company of these, from the fields of ether, visit the place where they were born, where they were settled in the ministry for life, where they studied, and prayed, and labored, and made sacrifices that their beloved Connecticut might become a "free and independent State."

APPENDIX.

A.

From the proverb, "Like people, like priest," it is inferred that the character of the priest can be known from the character of the people, and *vice versa*.

This was especially true in regard to the ministers and the people in Connecticut, where the connection between them, like the connection between man and wife, was life-long.

For centuries in England, down to the Reformation, the affection and reverence of Christian people were distributed upon popes, cardinals, bishops, and the inferior clergy. After the Reformation, the affection and reverence of Christian people were bestowed on archbishops, bishops, rectors, and curates.

In Connecticut, the affection and reverence of Christians in the several towns, were concentrated upon their own minister, whom they regarded as worthy of double honor. Hence they were willing to follow him as their chosen leader.

"A condition of society so happy as that enjoyed by Connecticut at this period, especially during the long administration of Governor Saltonstall, has been rare in the experience of mankind."—(Palfrey's Works, vol. iv, p. 375.)

In these halcyon days, thus described by Palfrey, namely, in 1708, when a clergyman was the Governor of the State, the ecclesiastical constitution of Connecticut was formed, in which the Consociation of churches and the Association of ministers were established, greatly to the advantage of churches and ministers. (See Trumbull's Ecc. Hist. of Conn., vol. i, chapter xix; sermon by John Eliot, D. D.; Con. to the Ecc. Hist. of Conn., and Fowler's Essays, p. 38.)

B.

The first ministers of Connecticut, on their settlement, generally received from the towns allotments of land, to be their own in fee simple, and likewise the use of other allotments of land, denominated parsonage lands. The consequence was that they nearly all became agriculturalists, and depended in part for their support on the cultivation of the soil, just as in England ministers of the Episcopal church cultivated the glebe lands. In 1852, when I was in England, Judge Burdon, chief justice in Yorkshire, took me to ride seven miles, in order to show me, as he said, the best specimen of tile draining which he had seen. This was made by a clergyman of the Church of England. He also told me that clergymen were some of the best cultivators of the soil that he knew.

The clergymen of Connecticut were more intelligent than the mass of the people, and therefore cultivated the soil in a better way than others, and thus became model farmers. This is true of Dr. Jared Eliot of Killingworth, Dr. Goodrich of Durham, and William Robinson of Southington, and many others. And in their houses the same industry and thrift was manifested by their wives and daughters. During, and just after the Revolutionary War, one clergyman educated five sons at Yale College, and, excepting the suit worn at Commencement, which was made of broadcloth, all their clothes were manufactured in his family, both woolen and linen, and the flax and wool from which the materials were made were furnished from his own farm, or at least from the contributions of his people, in payment of his salary. Thus, in many families during the war, the women followed the suggestion of Dr. Franklin: "We must light the fires of industry," while the husbands, brothers, and sons followed the suggestion of John Adams: "We must light fires of a different character."

The ministers, in their intercourse with others, borrowed their allusions from their agricultural occupations.

Æneas Munson, the well-known president of the medical

department in Yale College, born in New Haven, June 24, 1734; died there, June 16, 1826; studied theology, and preached for some years. Indeed, he was chaplain to Lord Gardner in the French War of 1755. One Saturday evening he was in company with a minister of Connecticut, with whom he expected to spend the Sabbath, and who said to him: "You must preach for me to-morrow." Mr. Munson replied, "No, sir; I should be afraid to preach before your congregation, because you have so many intelligent men in it." The next morning the minister took him into his barn-yard, and said to him, "Do you see that great ox? He won't poke. Do you see that great ox?" pointing to another, "He won't poke." He then said, "Do you see that little steer? He can't poke." The minister added, "You will preach for me to-day." Upon this, Mr. Munson said he readily assented to preach for him.

In Connecticut, before machinery had created a moneyed aristocracy in the State, there was a great system of domestic manufactures carried on in the well-to-do families of Connecticut, including those of the ministers, in which the capitalists and the operatives lived under the same roof. It was the age of homespun and industry.

> "The modest wants of every day
> The toil of every day supplied."

"The good housewife sought wool and flax and worked willingly with her hands. She laid her hands to the spindle, and her hands held the distaff."

The great wheel and the little wheel made music, sometimes in concert and sometimes in solo; and the young girl, as she turned the wheel, would sometimes sing:

> "I'll sell my rock; I'll sell my reel,
> Likewise I'll sell my spinning-wheel,
> To buy my love a sword and a shield,
> So give ear to my wandering roundelay."

Even men high in office, often spent a portion of their time in the cultivation of the soil.

Thus there was a meadow on the estate of the celebrated Wyllis family in Hartford, owned by them for several generations, the hay of which was said to be made every year by gentlemen "in silk stockings."

In diet, it was the age of potluck, when men went to their beef-barrel and pork-barrel, and not to the butcher's cart for their meat. Every day at 12 o'clock the good wife, with her long iron fork, would place the smoking viands on the broad pewter platter, where the family could find plenty of "cut and come again."

The Indian pudding, boiled in a bag, prefaced the dinner. Hence the adage, "The proof of the pudding is in eating the bag," that is, all that was contained in the bag. In beverage, it was the age of home-brewed beer made from malt, manufactured from barley. The emptyings furnished the good housewife with yeast, which, when good, insured good bread, in accordance with the old maxim in the school-book, "As you brew, so you must bake."

When the celebrated Dr. John Mason of New York, at that time the most eloquent man of the clergy of the United States, preached on a certain occasion at New Haven, Dr. Azel Backus sat in the pulpit with him. During the delivery of the greater part of the sermon Dr. Backus was in tears, and when the services were concluded, Dr. Backus took him by the hand and said, "Dr. Mason, do you always preach in this way?" "Oh, no!" was the reply, "I can write a good sermon, but I generally feed my people on potluck."

C.

The ministers were the learned order of Connecticut. But instead of confining learning to their own order, they endeavored to extend it, as far as possible, to every class in the community. Instead of adopting the sentiment, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion," they adopted the opposite sentiment, "Knowledge is the mother of devotion." A strong mind, well cultivated, must perceive truth and feel its power, better than a weak and ignorant mind. The

ministers were educators in Connecticut, first, by their influence in establishing and promoting common schools. It should be said, to the praise of the ministers, that in their earnest and painstaking labors in connection with district schools, they received no pecuniary remuneration. This acting from public spirit was in accordance with the general practice of town officers. The selectmen of the town, for a long period, in like manner received no remuneration for their services, and if for want of public spirit a man should refuse to accept of the office when appointed, he was sometimes fined. Secondly, by the establishment of Yale College; thirdly, by the establishment of academies and schools of a higher order; fourthly, by the instructions which they gave in fitting youth for college, and for some of the more elevated professions. Thus, Nathaniel Chauncey, the first graduate of Yale College, Dr. Elizur Goodrich his successor, and Dr. David Smith, taught schools of this character. William Botsford, the Chief Justice of New Brunswick, and Eli Whitney, the great inventor, were fitted for college by Dr. Goodrich; Postmaster-General Samuel D. Hubbard, by Dr. Smith. Rev. Enoch Huntington, of Middletown, also taught a large school. Among his pupils were the Rev. Timothy Dwight, afterwards President of Yale College, and John C. Osborn, Professor in the Medical College in New York. President Dwight taught a celebrated school at Greenfield Hill. Dr. Azel Backus, in 1808-9, had a school of twenty, all of them boarding in his family, and in 1811-12 had fifteen scholars.

The influence of the intellectual training which ministers furnished their hearers on the Sabbath, to say nothing of the moral and religious training, was often very important in shaping the intellectual character of young men.

Dr. Emmons, a native of Connecticut, educated at Yale College, 1767, died in Franklin, Mass., 1840, trained up intellectually Judge Theron Metcalf, Prof. Alexander Fisher, and Horace Mann, though none of them embraced his peculiar views of religion.

Oliver Ellsworth studied theology one year with Dr. John

Smalley. There was a tradition when I was studying theology, that when called to write his first sermon he wrote ten sheets of paper in defining the terms which he used in the sermon, which he did with great accuracy. Dr. Smalley was struck with the exactness of his mind, and told him that he would make a better lawyer than minister. Upon this, Mr. Ellsworth betook himself to the study of the law, and became in time Chief Justice of the United States.

The celebrated Jeremiah Mason, the great lawyer, first of New Hampshire, and then of Massachusetts, studied divinity for a time with Dr. Smalley.

The clergymen of Connecticut introduced among their people something of the Aryan civilization and something of the Semitic. Many of them could quote passages from the classics as fluently as they could quote texts from the Scriptures. For a long time the students of Yale College were required to converse in Latin.

As helping to show the influence of the ministers of Connecticut in promoting general education, the following letter, published in the annual report of 1868, by the Connecticut Board of Education, is not out of place.

DURHAM CENTER, CONN., April, 1868.

To the Secretary of the Board of Education:

Dear Sir—In reply to your favor, in which you request me to furnish some information "concerning the town and village libraries, which, in various parts of the State, were the educators of our fathers," I have to say, that the shortness of the time, and my previous engagements, have not allowed me to bestow that attention to the subject which its intrinsic interest demands. These libraries are now numbered with the things that were; but for fifty or a hundred years they were a living power in the Commonwealth, as we may still learn in the fast fading light of tradition.

Books were for a long time scarce in Connecticut, as elsewhere in New England, except in the libraries of some of the eminent clergymen; and so much valued were they, that when a certain distinguished clergyman in Massachusetts

died, who was in possession of a valuable library, a clergyman in Stratford, Connecticut, offered to bring up and educate his orphan son, then only five years of age, on condition that he might have the use of that library until that son should want it. And so good a use did he make of that library, that he was offered the Presidency of Yale College, which he declined.

Books were the foundation of Yale College. The foundation was laid on this wise: Ten of the principal clergymen of the Colony, having formed themselves into a society, met at Branford. "Each member brought a number of books, and presenting them to the body, said these words: '*I give these books for the founding of a college in this Colony.*'" Then the trustees took possession of them and confided them to the care of the Reverend Mr. Russell, the Librarian. The number of the books was forty folio volumes.

The opinion of these founders was, that a college is a *mental and spiritual structure*, built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles of learning, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone. These books were, at once, the symbols and the sources of learning, the exponents of those donors who founded Yale College, and the fountains from which the students could thereafter slake their thirst for knowledge.

As showing the high appreciation of books, in 1717, when the college library was removed from Saybrook to New Haven, a large number of men resisted the removal, and "in the struggle that ensued, about *two hundred and fifty volumes of valuable books* were conveyed away by unknown persons, and were never recovered." Whether any of those books formed the basis of the valuable libraries not long after established by individuals in the three towns of Saybrook, Lyme, and Guilford, I am not able positively to say. Some circumstances point that way.

The year 1733 was signalized by the noble donation of one thousand volumes to Yale College, by a distinguished divine of the Church of England, Dean Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. This caused great rejoicing among the friends of the College in the Colony, and inspired high hopes of its success.

It is remarkable that in a few months after this event, in the same year, namely, October 30th, the first "Book Company" in Connecticut, or what is supposed to be the first, was formed. From that time to about 1800, and perhaps later, libraries were established in the different towns. The ministers and intelligent men reasoned in this way: If large libraries are useful in large cities in Europe and elsewhere, small libraries may be useful in the small towns in Connecticut, where all enjoy the advantages of common school education, which prepares them to derive pleasure and profit from books. And many of the people reasoned in this way: I have learned to read, why shall not I make a profitable use of what I have learned, and extend my knowledge by reading books? They thought much like Stone, the celebrated self-made mathematician, who, when asked how he had been able to acquire such a great amount of knowledge, replied, "Why, I first learned the *twenty-four letters of the alphabet*, and then I found that, by means of these, I could learn anything else that I wished to learn."

Moreover, members of the Colonial Legislature, which met twice in the year, often had conversations with each other about the establishment of libraries as the means of elevating the tastes and intelligence of the people in the several towns. And after they had been established in some towns, the members from those towns were consulted by those from other towns, as to the results, and as to the mode of proceeding in forming and conducting them, and as to the choice and character of the books to be purchased. And afterwards, when "book companies" had become common in the Colony, the members frequently, in their social intercourse, conversed with one another about the books which belonged to the libraries in their respective towns. This statement I had from those who received it from one who was as influential as any other in the establishment of such libraries, and who was a member of the legislature, at least seventy-four sessions.

These *book companies* were voluntary associations of persons in the several towns who were desirous of establishing

a library. A number of the intelligent men of the town would meet together, appoint a committee of four or five persons, and a clerk, who was often the library-keeper. These officers were afterwards appointed annually. Each member contributed a certain sum, say twenty shillings, as an entrance fee, and an annual tax, say one shilling. The books were drawn out by the members, or by some of their families, to be returned in a fortnight, or at some longer time, perhaps, in some places. A record of the books drawn was kept by the clerk, a fine being charged for want of punctuality in returning them. Sometimes, through neglect, the taxes and fines would amount to so much that the committee would declare the rights forfeited. The moneys collected were applied by the committee to the purchase of books from time to time. The question what books should be purchased, was considered to be a very important one, and was often discussed by the committee. In one case the clerk and library-keeper held his place forty-nine years.

It was, I believe, not uncommon that the clergyman was the clerk. At least I was acquainted with one who acted as such something like thirty years, meeting the members of the book company statedly for drawing the books; when he would describe to them their character, with remarks adapted to lead them to their perusal, he himself having carefully read them. He wished to imbue the minds of the readers in his parish with scholarly tastes, to make them understand that though the bodies of the great ones in mind's empire lie in the "caves of death," their minds still live and breathe in their works as if immortal; lifting, as with an angel's wing, the souls of their readers above earth's vanities. He wished to take off their attention from the petty questions and the party disputes of the day, which divide or weaken congregations, and to fix it upon the great truths and great duties in which all could agree to unite. And he was successful. He left what continues to be, at the distance of forty-four years, one of the largest and best congregations in the country towns in the State. We know men from the friends whom they choose; he knew many of his people from the books which

they read, those silent friends who teach without offending, and admonish without wounding, and who form the character.

The annual meetings for the choice of officers, and for hearing the report on the condition of the library, was a sort of literary festival, when there was "the feast of reason and the flow of soul," when the members eulogized their favorite authors, quoting them as if they were old friends, and ready to say with Bacon, "libraries are the shrines where all the relics of saints, full of true virtue, and without imposture, are preserved and reposed."

The following preamble to the by-laws adopted in one town, is given as a specimen, which may help one to form a correct idea of a "Book Company" in those times.

"Forasmuch as the subscribers hereof, being desirous to improve our leisure hours in enriching our minds in useful and profitable knowledge by reading, do find ourselves unable to do so, for the want of suitable and *proper books:* Therefore, that we may be the better able to furnish ourselves with a suitable and proper collection of books, for the above said end, we do, each of us, unite together, and agree to be coparceners in company together by the name of the Book Company of Durham, united to buy books; and we do agree and covenant with each other, and it is hereby covenanted and agreed upon, by each of us, the subscribers hereof, that we ourselves and successors will be in future a society or company of coparceners united for that end, viz: to buy books; and we will each of us, so often as we shall agree by our major vote, bear our equal part in advancing any sum or sums of money at any time as a common stock to be laid out for such books as shall be agreed upon by the major vote of the company, to enlarge our library; and in pursuance of said design, we have each of us put into one stock the sum of twenty shillings, which is already laid out according to our direction, in purchasing books, which books shall be kept as a common stock library for the use of said company, by some honest person, whom we will choose, each member having an equal right in said library, and the use of the same, under such regulations as we shall agree upon."

In addition to this, there were sixty by-laws carefully and judiciously drawn up.

In my early years I was conversant with several of those libraries, frequented as they were by members of the company, who drew books and read them and talked about them. The binding was generally in strong sheep or calf, sometimes in double bindings after the first was injured by use. That they were used the volumes themselves bore witness as well as the records.

It should be remembered, that during the era which we are considering, the people of the Commonwealth were agricultural, living on farms cultivated by themselves as owners, and in homes often separated by broad acres; that in those homes the several families spent the long winters mostly together, and the rainy days and their evenings, and thus had leisure for reading. It should also be remembered, that with them often dwelt the four cardinal virtues, prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude, and also the sweet household charities; and what is more, daily prayers were offered in those homes even by many who had never taken the sacramental oath in the sanctuary, and thus they were in a mood of mind to enjoy solid reading. Their public amusements were few; there were training days with the wrestling matches; there were election days with their raised cake; there were thanksgiving days with their table luxuries and family loves; there were occasional balls conducted with all the formality and decorum of the olden time. Still, as a whole, there was very little outside to draw them from their homes.

In such homes and from such hearts books met a ready welcome as supplying a felt want, whether adapted to the memory, the imagination, or the reason. "*The Universal History*," Josephus' "*History of the Jews*," Watts' works, some of the poetical works of Milton, Pope, Thompson, Goldsmith, the sermons of some of the ablest English Divines, some of the works of President Edwards, *The* "*Spectator*," some of Locke's works, Montesquieu's "*Spirit of Laws*," "*The Vicar of Wakefield*," and many others,

became familiarly known to more or less readers in many towns. And when thus read and appreciated, they of course produced a beneficial effect. This was especially true of the "*Spectator*," composed by Addison and the wits of Queen Anne's time. If it be true that it contributed to elevate and refine the conversation and conduct of the people of England in their social intercourse, it did the same for the people of Connecticut, inasmuch as, in proportion to the population, it was more read.

In the excellent Constitution of Massachusetts, under the head of encouraging literature, it is made the duty of legislators and magistrates to countenance "*sincerity, good humor, and all social affections, and generous sentiments, among the people*." What was aimed at by this provision, was, to a large extent, accomplished by the extensive perusal of books like these; while they planted a root of bitterness nowhere, whether in churches or towns. It is true there were many books in these libraries of not so high a character. I have seen "*Arabian Nights Entertainment*," and the "*Fool of Quality*," and the "*Pilgrim's Progress*," and the "*Holy War*," in one library, and it is very likely that "*Sir Charles Grandison*," and "*Pamela*," and "*Robinson Crusoe*," were found in others. At any rate, there was enough in them to extend the opening mind of the young boy beyond the horizon of his native town to other forms of social life, thus nourishing manly thought; and to expand the budding affections of the young girl into the consummate blossom of maiden loveliness.

A studious youth in a secluded house, would, on some winter's evening, sit down, with his tallow candle, to peruse a book of travels from one of these libraries, perhaps reading portions of it to the listening family. In imagination he would range through various climes, and among various nations, until, in his delight, he could enjoy them as if his own. In the language of Goldsmith, he could say:

> "Ye glitt'ring towers with wealth and splendor crowned,
> Ye fields, whose summer spreads profusion round,
> Ye lakes, whose vessels catch the busy gale,
> Ye bending swains that dress the flow'ry vale,
> For me your tributary stores combine;
> Creation's heir, the world, the world is mine."

He could enjoy all the delights of the traveler without his fatigues, exposures, and temptations.

History was favorite reading with those who were older, especially English history. The people were but a few generations removed from their English ancestors, in whom tradition, government, and trade kept them interested. They themselves were British subjects until 1776. To understand their rights as such, they must read English history which informed them how these rights were obtained. The rulers of the people, and those who expected to be rulers, were readers of history. Some of the published debates in the Connecticut Legislature show a familiarity with historical facts. It is remarkable that in the Connecticut Convention which adopted the present Federal Constitution, the great argument of Oliver Ellsworth in its favor was largely historical, implying that the members were so much acquainted with history, that they could appreciate its force. Ministers of the Gospel in those days not unfrequently, in their sermons, stated facts of history, as the teaching of Divine Providence. The famous sermon of President Stiles before the Connecticut Legislature in 1783, is largely historical. Many other facts might be adduced to show what were the prevailing tastes and sentiments in the Commonwealth, growing out more or less from the perusal of books furnished by these book companies.

The good influence of these libraries upon every class of the population, from the highest to the lowest, cannot be measured, any more than can the influence of "the all-pervading spirit of literature" generally, any more than can the influence of the light in the firmament, glancing as it does from the highest hill-top down into the lowest vale.

These "book companies" lived, some of them, more than a hundred years, accomplishing great good to the several communities, others had a shorter term of life. They all, from various general causes in operation, lost their hold on the hearts of the people, and were neglected. Some of the libraries were sold at auction, and the proceeds distributed among the members. Some were distributed to them, each

member receiving his share of books. Some were scattered and lost. And the remains of one, at least, are boxed up in a large chest.

The causes that produced this change began to operate about the commencement of the present century, though they did not produce their full effect until something like thirty years afterwards. To state what these causes were, would exceed my limits.

If this letter, my dear sir, shall furnish you with any aid in your laudable attempt to obtain materials for an Educational History of the State, I shall have accomplished my purpose in complying with your request.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM C. FOWLER.

D.

"OWNING THE COVENANT."

The covenant here mentioned refers to the covenant made by the parent for the infant child at its baptism. It refers to the beautiful idea connected with family religion, that the parent could enter into covenant, not only for himself, but for his child. In this way the baptized child became a member, or a *quasi* member of the church; and, upon his "owning the covenant," enjoyed the privilege of having his own children baptized. At least, this was the general practice in Connecticut for a long period.

This was slightly stigmatized by the opposers of the practice, by calling it the "half-way covenant."

When the New Divinity men, under the lead of President Edwards, dropped the practice and confined baptism to the children of those who were in full communion, there was often great dissatisfaction expressed by those who were thus excluded. Within my knowledge some went so far as to leave the Congregational church and go to the Episcopal.

For a specimen of the form of owning the covenant, see Con. to the Ecc. Hist. of Conn., page 410.

During the War of the Revolution there seems to have been a truce between the New Divinity men and the Old Divinity men.

They were equally patriotic in sustaining the war. Thus, in the county of New Haven, Pres. Ezra Stiles, Dr. Elizur Goodrich, and Dr. Dana, Old Divinity men; and Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Benj. Trumbull, and Mark Leavenworth, New Divinity men, earnestly supported the war.

The Old Divinity men held generally to the doctrines taught by the Church of England in the thirty-nine articles, and also to the doctrines of the Westminster Catechism.

To know what were the doctrines of the New Divinity men, it would be necessary to read some of the writings of Edwards the elder, Edwards the younger, Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, Dr. Smalley, Levi Hart, Nathaniel Emmons, Charles Backus, who had as many as fifty theological pupils, and Stephen West.

I. One point of difference between the Old Divinity men and the New Divinity men was, that the Old Divinity men were willing to baptize the children of those who owned the covenant, while the New Divinity men were generally opposed to the practice.

II. Another point of difference was, that the Old Divinity men relied largely upon the cultivation of family religion, while the New Divinity men were more in favor of conference meetings than their opponents.

III. Another point of difference was, that the Old Divinity men preached less upon the doctrine of election and kindred doctrines, than their opponents, though they were generally the professed believers in that doctrine.

Said the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bray, an Old Divinity man of North Guilford: "I am a believer in election, but not in the Durham election." He alluded to the doctrine taught in the latter place at that time.

In the year 1823, the orthodox friends of Amherst College united with the Democratic party in Massachusetts in electing for Governor, William Eustis, a Democrat, and a reputed Deist. This they did for the purpose of obtaining

a charter for Amherst College, which the Federalists and Unitarians, whose candidate was Harrison Gray Otis, had refused to grant. Soon after the election, the defeated candidate, Harrison Gray Otis, met the successful candidate, William Eustis, and accosted him jocosely in some such terms as these: "I beg to inquire whether you have adopted the Calvinistic system of doctrines?" He replied, "I believe in the doctrine of election."

The term, election, was in those days put by synedoche for the group of doctrines with which it was connected.

IV. Another point of difference between the Old Divinity men and the New Divinity men was the hostility of the latter to balls, assemblies, and dancing generally.

During the period of thirty years, from 1788 to 1818, the New Divinity ministers grew in numbers and influence, incurring justly or unjustly the charge of a propagandism that hazarded the unanimity and peace of churches and towns. During the same period, the Standing Order, denominated Presbyterians or Congregationalists, were weakened by the desertion of numbers to the Baptists, to the Episcopalians, to the Methodists, or to the Universalists; thus foreshadowing the revolution of 1818, which was partly ecclesiastical and partly political.

Two excellent men, both of them Doctors of Divinity held a discussion in my presence something like the following: "The great success which has attended the preaching of the doctrines of New Divinity in revivals of religion is a sufficient proof of the truth of these doctrines."

"No," said the other. "I do not think it is. It is rather the thoroughgoing character of the men who preach them that produce the success. It is neither New Divinity Calvinism nor Old Divinity Calvinism that is essential to the production of revivals of religion, for the Methodists have powerful revivals of religion under the preaching of opposite doctrines, namely, the doctrines of Arminianism."

E.

FAIRFIELD, June 23rd, 1777.

REV. AND HON'D SIR: * * * * .

The General Association have met here. They had no great business. It was an agreeable and social interview; and they kept out of political matters——tho' the fingers of one Gentleman seemed greatly bent after fishing in the troubled waters. * * * * .

Great are the expectations of people from this summer's campaign.

"Never had Gen. Washington so fine an army. Howe's numbers are much smaller than they were last year." They predict mighty events. It will be a sad disappointment if America does not prevail.

Last week I saw a Flag which came out of New York. It was Mr. Webb of Wethersfield, who had been sent by Gov. Trumbull. He says that vast preparations were making for action somewhere. The Britons and their adherents glory much on account of the late action of Danbury and think that they can go any where—they were attacked, say they, by ten thousand Rebels, and made their way through them all. They want another tour to Connecticut. Major French, who has been a Prisoner, and made his escape from Hartford, has solicited for a command to go to that Metropolis, attesting in the strongest terms the practicability of such an Expedition. But he has no great Influence at Head Quarters.

The Boston refugees are fed with the notion that they shall ere long be in their Habitations. Many of them have heretofore believed that the great preparations were making for an attack on that town. Ben Davis, on his entering into New York was closeted by Lord Howe for six hours. He talks of his sufferings while in Boston—his fortitude in standing firm to the rules, and his mighty attachment to Government. * * * * * .

The British Ships are almost every day in sight. They seem determined to prevent any more excursions to Long

Island and not only so but to harass our Coast as much as possible. They have once and again taken off Cattle, &c., and burnt houses contiguous to the water.——Gen. Silliman is indefatigable in posting guards along the shore, that is, within his department, but of what avail are indefatigable officers with fatigable men. The Militia seem tired of the Business. It is with difficulty that they are got together at any time. Two Battalions are now raising for the defense of the shore. What success they meet with in recruiting I know not. This ought to have been done six months ago.

Your dutiful son,

ANDREW ELIOT.

FAIRFIELD, May 21st, 1778.

REV. AND HON'D SIR* * * *:

I have much regretted that I could proceed no further than Hartford. Had it not been for the Association Meeting which is to be held the next week at Stanwick (where a general attendance is expected), and I appointed preacher, I should have gone on to Boston.

On Monday preceding our general Election we set out for Wethersfield, where we arrived Tuesday P. M. That evening and the following day we spent very agreeably at Mr. Marsh's, in company with a number of the clergy and other gentlemen.

The next day I went over to Hartford. Mr. Whittlesey of New Haven preached a very suitable sermon from 2 Sam., xxiii: 3—"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." There was a great concourse of people within and without the meeting-house. I was much pleased with the good order and decency that prevailed during the exercise, and afterwards. Dr. Rogers gave us a lecture in the afternoon.

Many were displeased at having a lecture for various reasons. For my own part I was not satisfied of the propriety of the Scheme, and had determined not to go, but being in company with the Governor and his officers, and his Excellency rising, to attend the Sermon while the Committee was

counting the votes, it would not do for me to stay behind. The Dr. preached an excellent sermon from these words— "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is the reproach of any people."

Connecticut makes this anniversary much more of a Festival than Massachusetts used to do. Not only the lower sort, but persons of the first rank throughout the State, whether in office or not, put on their best attire and indulge in diversions suited to their various tastes, throughout the day and the evening. This is no bad symptom for the present Constitution of Government. The regard paid to such an Anniversary shows the prevailing disposition, and indicates the value which the people have for the privileges they enjoy.

When diversions are innocent in themselves, and are not carried to excess—when they are not attended with too great expense, and do not lead to Levity, dissipation, and vice, they are allowable and salutary. But when to the variety of amusements peculiar to the country—the moderate use of which is not prejudicial—are added Stage Plays, it appears to me an alarming circumstance. Could you think it?— On Monday Evening in Election Week—In Hartford, the Capital of the State—in the Court House—the place where the Fathers of the Senate meet—at the most public time, and in the most public manner, was acted *Tancred & Sigismunda*, by the Junior Sophister Class of Yale College, who had been forbidden to act the same at Glastonbury (where they have lately studied) and who embraced the opportunity of vacation and secured the Court house for the purpose. To this succeeded a farce of their own composing in which Gen'ls Burgoyne & Prescot were introduced. To keep up the characters of these Generals, especially Prescot, they were obliged (I believe not to their sorrow), to indulge in very indecent and profane language.

The audience consisted of the Gentry of Hartford and the vicinity, and a number of strangers, among whom were Dr. Rodgers and Mr. Tennent. Those Rev'd Gentlemen were very much offended at the profane language introduced.

Better for them and for the interests of religion that they had been elsewhere.

When Royal Governors in grand parade and pomp came over time after time—when Commissioners and Custom house officers, a corrupt, luxurious and dissipated tribe abounded in every part of New England—the voice of many was, and fitly enough, that the representation of Stage Plays—the encouraging a theatre was destructive to a young Country—they were too expensive diversions, and tended to hurt the morals of young and unprincipled persons—and no company dare exhibit for any time, for fear of the Grand Jury. Alas! that in one of the "first pages of our New History," these things should be publicly tolerated. What adds to the illegality of the affair is that the actors were not only dressed agreeable to the characters they assumed as Men, but female apparel and ornaments were put on some, contrary to an express statute. Besides it cost the lads £60 to prepare for the exhibition.

Election being over, we returned to Wethersfield, where we spent the remainder of the week. I preached for Mr. Marsh on the Lord's day, and on Monday set out for home, where we arrived Tuesday P. M.; Polly much the better for her journey. * * * * *

Our public affairs are in a much better situation than they were, on account of the Interposition of France—separate from that we have not much better prospects. A selfish, avaricious, anti-patriotic spirit, and a love of pleasure too much prevails in America, which swallows up what public virtue is left among the inhabitants. There is no people, however, that will allow themselves or their neighbors to be so bad as Massachusetts.

Mankind are generally blind to their own faults, eagle-eyed with regard to the faults of others. I heartily wish that your State had acceded to the regulating act.

I am fully of your mind that the grand hinge on which American affairs have turned in Europe was Burgoyne's defeat—accomplished principally by New England Militia.

While I was at Wethersfield, a rich prize, containing 85

pipes of wine came into Connecticut River—it was taken by two Boats manned by 14 or 15 men. They opened the head of one of the pipes on Election day at Middletown. Every body was welcome to a draught.

In our absence there was a considerable alarm at Fairfield. A Ship, Brig, and tender came near the town. They cut out a fine new Brig from Newfield Harbour about 5 or 6 miles from us. Their boats came in a very silent manner—they made quick dispatch, which shows they were afraid to come very far or to stay very long. I hope there will be no more such alarms, but expect them daily. Our people have been to the opposite shore, ofttimes taken wood and provision boats—made prize of one of their tenders. I am apprehensive of their endeavoring to make reprisals upon us. A kind providence has preserved us hitherto. I humbly trust he will continue his protection. Oh! for chippy, lasting peace.

* * * * *

Your dutiful son,

ANDREW ELIOT.

FAIRFIELD, June 11th, 1778.

REV. AND HON'D SIR:—Yours of the 4th inst. came duly to hand. I hear no further animadversions on the affair of Stage Plays, but hope that such proceedings will be nipped in the bud. The College is coming together at New Haven, where the Scholars will be more under the eye of their Governors. Dr. Stiles is to be here in July. Great are the expectations concerning him. The College is to equal, if not outvie all other seminaries upon the continent. In my apprehension it will not greatly flourish until this comes again in vogue—*Cedant arme toge*,—and until the direction of it should be wholly by clergymen. They want an equal number of the Laity to be concerned—accordingly a Scheme was proposed by the Assembly—that the Corporation continuing as heretofore, the same number of laymen should be chosen by and from that body, to have equal power with the corporation—the President to be elected by this joint Body, but to be a clergyman—the other Officers to be elected in the sam

manner from any Profession—except the Professor of Divinity, who is to be elected by the corporation and under their sole direction—with some other articles of less importance. The divinity chair is at present filled by Dr. Daggett, who, let his merits be ever so great, I find is not very acceptable to the community. This deposition from the President's Office must indeed be mortifying if he has any sensibility. Were I in his case, I should retire to any employment that would keep me from starving. Whether they will be able to keep the College together is a matter of uncertainty, depending entirely on the enemy's motions.

All things are now quiet among us, save that a sloop was cut out of Harbor about 17 miles from us on Wednesday, loaded with 300 barrels of flour—and a fleet has been passing eastward thro' the Sound for some days past. Whether to take off troops from Rhode Island or to carry more there, is uncertain. A division of the Squadron lay opposite to us the last night. Admiral Gambier has arrived at New York with some ships, but I believe few reinforcements are yet come. I cannot learn where it is likely the ensuing campaign will commence. Some say in New England, others that it will be up the North river—others in the Carolinas. Gen. Gates is marching down from Albany. It is said that he is going on the White Plains. The event of all is with an all-wise Providence. Pity for Britain that she ever began the War.

* * * * *

Your dutiful son,

ANDREW ELIOT.

Mr. Whittlesey's sermon is in the press, and there it is like to be for some time. Our Election Sermons do not come out till near six months after they are preached. I will send you a copy as soon as published.

F.

The War of the Revolution loosened the joints of society. It closed in 1783. In 1784 the emancipation act of the Legislature was passed. For one cause and another, some of the soldiers of the Revolutionary army of Connecticut found their attachment to their native State weakened By the adoption of the first Federal Constitution, and also by the adoption of the second, the views of many of the people were extended beyond the boundaries of their native State or colony. They were ready to say,

> "No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
> The whole unbounded continent is ours."

They were now ready, as a part of the "universal Yankee nation," to find a home anywhere on the continent, and to carry with them the institutions under which they themselves had been educated. Judge Jacob Collamer once informed me that a certain very considerable tract of country in Vermont was largely settled by New England soldiers of the Revolution. Among these, many were from Connecticut; and in the region where these soldiers were settled, the "point of honor" was often evident and influential. Marietta was settled to some extent by Connecticut officers and soldiers. As many as one-fifth of the towns of Vermont borrowed their names from Connecticut.

The lands called the "Connecticut Reserve," in the northern part of Ohio, amounting in the whole to 3,666,000 acres, came into market in 1795. Five hundred thousand acres of these lands were called fire-lands, from their being given to Norwalk, Danbury, and other towns, to compensate them for their losses by fire in the Revolutionary War. The school lands amounted to 3,166,000 acres.

The tide of emigration moved westward from every part of the State. Every town lost some of its best blood, which was transfused into communities in the West, and imparted vitality, health, and vigor, while it left the towns languid and weakened. In 1816 an oration was delivered at Commence-

ment by one of the graduating class of Yale College, "On the spirit of Emigration from the Eastern to the Western States." In 1817 Governor Oliver Wolcott, in his inaugural message, spoke of the importance of encouraging manufacturing industry, in order that the people of Connecticut should be induced to remain within the limits of the State.

The loud cry was, "Westward ho! who'll follow?" and multitudes responded to that cry, "We'll follow."

G.

Fifty years ago, or more, when the London University was under consideration, in one of the principal English reviews it was declared, "Oxford makes gentlemen." There was then, and there has been since, every reason to believe the truth of this declaration. At least, the present writer, after spending ten days there, with the best opportunities for observation, became thoroughly convinced of its truth. The history of that University from its foundation, and of the University of Cambridge, go to show that their alumni carried into every part of England the manners which they acquired at those places, and thus promoted good manners in England.

Harvard College, and Yale College, have, in like manner, promoted good manners where their alumni have been settled, in Massachusetts or Connecticut.

The early ministers of Connecticut, whether educated in England, or at Harvard, or Yale, zealously promoted good manners among the people. The youth were taught good manners in the church, through the aid of the tithingman; good manners in the school, through the aid of the teacher; and good manners in the family and in public, through the aid of their parents. The children were taught to "make their manners" when they came into the school-room and when they left it, by taking off their hats or making a courtesy; and to do the same to respectable passers by, whom they met in the streets, just as students in college were re-

quired by law to take off their hats to the Faculty, when they met them.

In going into church the minister was received by the congregation standing, at least by those in the lower part of the house, and more especially by those near the broad aisle.

The minister and people both had their Sabbath-day clothes, which they used in going to church, and other important occasions, and every-day clothes, which they used in their daily business.

The minister was dressed sometimes with a cocked hat and wig or cue, black coat, waistcoat, breeches, stockings, knee-buckles, and shoe-buckles, and black gloves.

Yale College was to Connecticut what Oxford and Cambridge were to England for a long time, as a promoter of good manners. To see this distinctly let us select some period, say from 1812 to 1816.

At that time, Timothy Dwight was President of Yale College. His manners, derived, in part, from the ante-Revolutionary period, or from the army, in which he was a Chaplain, but chiefly from his own nobility of soul, produced reverence and admiration in strangers and friends. They were such as would become a dignitary of the Church of England, even the Archbishop at Lambeth.

It was said of Edmund Burke, by one well acquainted with life and manners, that no one could pass ten minutes with him under a shed in a rainy day, without feeling that he was a man of uncommon ability. The same might be said of President Dwight.

The manners of Professor Jeremiah Day, afterwards President, were bland and courteous, indicating the poise and gentle graces of his soul. It was said of the father of Prof. Day, by one who revered him greatly, that "he never could look at him, without the momentary impression that he was God." No one could be well acquainted with the son, without feeling that he was the partaker of the divine nature, or without feeling "how awful goodness is, and virtue in herself, how lovely."

The manners of Prof. Benjamin Silliman were genial and

winning. He was sympathetic ; his own feelings going out towards others. He was magnetic ; drawing the feelings of others towards him. In the words of Cowper he was, -

> "A man of letters and of manners too,
> Of manners sweet as virtue always wears,
> When gay good humor dresses her in smiles,
> He graced a College."

The manners of Prof. Kingsley were modest and retiring. His pointed stories ; his juicy humor ; his pungent wit ; his quick perception of the ridiculous, and his fervent indignation at wrong when coupled with dishonor, and the whole seasoned with Attic salt, produced a pleasing and lasting impression upon those who had intercourse with him.

It may not be out of place to repeat here an anecdote. Prof. Kingsley, somewhere near 1820, visited Harvard College, and was received with the urbanity and politeness characteristic of the officers of that institution. At an evening party, at which he was present, the conversation turned upon the difficulty that had arisen between some of the orthodox people of Brooklyn, Conn., and a Unitarian minister, who had preached there as a candidate. President Kirkland, in his pleasant way said, "Prof. Kingsley, what is the difficulty at Brooklyn? Is it that the preacher's creed is too long or too short?" Prof. Kingsley, in a manner equally pleasant, while all the company were waiting for his answer, replied ; "As I understand it, the difficulty is not that his creed is too long or too short, but that he has no creed."

This finished the conversation on this topic.

The tutors of Yale in that period were Aretius Bevil Hull, Matthew Rice Dutton, Samuel Johnson Hitchcock, John Langdon, Josiah Willard Gibbs, Chauncey A. Goodrich, Ralph Emerson, Wm. Danielson, John Witter, Alexander Metcalf Fisher, and Denison Olmsted. All these men were Christian gentlemen, whose influence was powerful in forming the minds and manners of the students. It was interesting to see how a young man, somewhat clownish or somewhat rowdyish, would enter College, and after remaining there four

years, would graduate with his taste refined, and his manners polished, prepared to go into the community to refine the taste and improve the manners of others.

John Adams, the second President of the United States, in a letter to President Stiles, in 1788, speaks of Yale College as "THE LIGHT OF A COMMONWEALTH THAT I ESTEEM THE PUREST PORTION OF MANKIND."

* * * * View them near
At home, where all their worth and pride is placed;
And there their hospitable fires burn clear,
And there the lowliest farm-house hearth is graced
With manly hearts, in piety sincere,
Faithful in love, in honor stern and chaste,
In friendship warm and true, in danger brave,
Beloved in life, and sainted in the grave.

And minds have there been nurtured, whose control
Is felt even in their nation's destiny:
Men who swayed senates with a statesman's soul,
And looked on armies with a leader's eye;
Names that adorn and dignify the scroll
Whose leaves contain their country's history,
And tales of love and war * * * * *.

HALLECK.

In what Arcadian, what Utopian ground
Are warmer hearts or manlier feelings found,
More hospitable welcome, or more zeal
To make the curious "tarrying" stranger feel
That, next to home, here best may he abide,
To rest and cheer him by the chimney-side;
Drink the hale farmer's cider, as he hears
From the gray dame the tales of other years.
Cracking his shagbarks, as the aged crone
—Mixing the true and doubtful into one—
Tells how the Indian scalped the helpless child,
And bore its shrieking mother to the wild,
Butchered the father hastening to his home,
Seeking his cottage——finding but his tomb.
How drums and flags and troops were seen on high
Wheeling and charging in the northern sky,
And that she knew what these wild tokens meant,
When to the Old French War her husband went.

How by the thunder-blasted tree, was hid
The golden spoils of far-famed Robert Kidd;
And then the chubby grandchild wants to know
About the ghosts and witches long ago,
That haunted the old swamp.

The clock strikes ten ———
The prayer is said, nor unforgotten then
The stranger in their gates. A decent rule
Of Elders in thy puritanic school.

When the fresh morning wakes him from his dream,
And daylight smiles on rock, and slope, and stream,
Are there not glossy curls and sunny eyes,
As brightly lit and bluer than thy skies;
Voices as gentle as an echoed call,
And sweeter than the softened waterfall
That smiles and dimples in its whispering spray,
Leaping in sportive innocence away;
And lovely forms, as graceful and as gay
As wild-brier, budding in an April day;
—How like the leaves—the fragrant leaves it bears,
Their sinless purposes and simple cares.

BRAINERD.

H.

During the sixteen years of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, commencing March 4, 1801, and of the administration of Mr. Madison, which closed March 4, 1817, a policy was pursued by the Federal Government hostile to the commercial interests of Connecticut. To this policy, indicated by the embargo, by the non-intercourse act of Congress, and finally by the war, a large majority of the intelligent portion of Connecticut, including the ministers, were decidedly opposed. This opposition was freely expressed at different times and in different ways. War with England was declared June 19, 1812. The requisition of troops made upon Connecticut by the Secretary of War, was refused by the State authorities; and a similar requisition made upon Massachusetts was refused by the authorities of that State. The ground of refusal in each case was that the requisition was unconstitutional. Mr. Madison, in his message in November

1812, calls this "a novel and unfortunate exposition of the provisions of the constitution relating to the militia." It was easier for him to call it "novel and unfortunate," than it was to prove that it was unsound in opposition to the opinion of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, of which Theophilus Parsons, the great jurist, was Chief Justice. The legislature of each of those states were as ready to maintain their rights in the Federal Union, as they were in the union with the mother country. They were as ready to resist Federal usurpations, as they were British usurpations. They believed that "resistance to tyrants was obedience to God."

I.

From 1783, when peace was declared, to 1818, when the constitution of the State was adopted, the ministers performed their professional duties with their usual earnestness and industry, in the changing condition of the times.

In 1792 an important change was made in the government of Yale College. Previous to that period, as ministers of Connecticut had founded Yale College, so none but ministers of Connecticut had been members of the corporation. In that year the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and six senior assistants were, by agreement with the General Assembly, made members of the corporation of Yale College, as a permanent arrangement. This act of the corporation, permitting laymen to have a share in the government of the college, increased the confidence of the people of the state in the college, and conciliated their favor towards the ministers. Thus, the ministers, by means of Yale College, had educated the leading men in the State up to the level of themselves, so that they could take part with them in the management of the college.

Nearly all of these lay members of the corporation received the honors of the college, reckoning from 1792 to 1818, when the new order of things took place.

In 1795, a fund, arising from the sale of the Western lands, 3,166,000 acres, amounted to $1,200,000. The committee

appointed to make sale of the lands were, John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmund, T. Grovesnor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert. The school visitors annually appointed to visit the schools from time to time, were authorized "to superintend and direct the instruction of the youth in letters, religion, morals, and manners." Of these school visitors, the minister generally, if not universally, was chairman.

We can readily believe that this noble grant of the fund for the support of common schools in Connecticut, never could have been made by the Legislature, without the favoring influence of the ministers of the State.

In 1798 the General Association of Connecticut formed themselves into a society, called "The Missionary Society of Connecticut." The object of this society was to send missionaries to the new settlements and to the Indians. The chairman of the Board of Trustees, appointed by the General Association, was the same John Treadwell who was chairman of the committee appointed by the Legislature to dispose of the Western lands.

Great good was accomplished during the period we are considering, by the Missionary Society of Connecticut; and many of the churches in the West, founded by these missionaries, can look back with filial gratitude, and exclaim: "Connecticut, the mother of us all."

As early as 1774, the General Association recommended subscriptions among the people for supporting missionaries "to the scattered back settlements in the wilderness to the northwestward," in what is now Vermont and the northern part of New York. These settlements, to a large extent, were composed of emigrants from Connecticut. Rev. Messrs. Williams of Northford, Goodrich of Durham, and Trumbull of North Haven, were chosen a committee to receive funds and supply the place of missionaries, when those appointed by the General Association failed. Rev. Messrs. Taylor of New Milford, Waterman of Wallingford, and Bliss of Ellington, were selected as missionaries, to spend five or six months on a missionary tour "if the committee are able to provide

for their support so long." The War of the Revolution interrupted the scheme and the growth of the settlements.

"In 1786, the subject came again before the General Association," who took action thereon.

In 1792, the General Association made a request of the General Assembly for "liberty to take up collections in the churches for the support of missionaries in this service. For several succeeding years a Committee of Missions was appointed by the General Association—annual contributions were taken up in our churches, and numbers of missionaries entered the field—chiefly pastors, who left their flocks temporarily, to minister to the destitute in the wilderness."—(From Con. to the Ecc. His. of Conn., pages 163–4.)

Thus it appears that Connecticut was the first State that moved to send missionaries to the Indians and to the new settlements. Thus Connecticut was the banner State in respect to missions, just as she was the banner State with respect to the magnificent fund for the support of common schools.

In 1810 the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions was established, partly through the agency of ministers in Connecticut, and Governor John Treadwell, already mentioned, was appointed president, and continued in office until his death, in 1823.

In 1800 the ministers established the *Evangelical Magazine* of Connecticut. The first series continued for six years. The second series commenced in 1808, and continued eight years. This valuable work is an exponent of the piety, learning, and industry of the ministers of Connecticut in that period.

In ancient Connecticut, Sunday for a long time was the great day of the week, and was generally observed with strictness. Saturday was sometimes called Preparation Day, because on that day the people made preparation for the observance of the Sabbath. The good housewife would put her house in order, and prepare her viands, that she might have full leisure for the religious observance of the day. Baked beans was a common dish for Saturday's supper; so

was hasty pudding. On Saturday evening the children recited the Assembly of Divines' Catechism in the family, as they did in the forenoon of Saturday at school. Punctuality of attendance on public worship, was throughout Connecticut common law. The church-going bell, after it had replaced the drum and the conch-shell, was rung at stated hours, and was tolled until the minister entered the house. There was the pulpit, sometimes elaborately finished; there was the red velvet cushion, and the hour-glass, which, when the minister turned it, called to mind the distich:

"As runs the glass,
Man's life doth pass."

Tithing-men were annually appointed in all the towns to secure the due observance of the Lord's Day.

"No traveller, drover, wagoner, teamster, or any of their servants, shall travel on the Lord's day, (except from necessity or charity) on penalty of forfeiting a sum not exceeding *three dollars and thirty-four cents*, nor less than *one dollar and sixty-seven cents*."

It was not an uncommon thing for the tithing-man, or some other town officer, to arrest strangers, as they passed through the town on the Sabbath, sometimes greatly to the annoyance of the traveler. On one occasion a traveler was arrested on the Sabbath and was taken to the house of a justice of the peace, where he spent the day. About an hour before the sun went down, he complimented the justice for his kindness and hospitality, and told him he would be willing to pay his fine if he could be permitted to go in a retired way to the next town. The justice consented to the proposal, took the fine, and permitted the gentleman to depart.

But the gentleman, who was a lawyer, said to the justice, "You, too, have violated the Sabbath law, by doing business prohibited by the statute. If you will return to me the fine which I have just paid, we will quit scores. If not, I will prosecute you and have you fined." The justice reflected a moment upon it, and wisely gave him back the fine which he had paid.

"By the aforesaid statute for the observation of the Sabbath, it is provided, that all and every person and persons in this state shall, on the Lord's Day, carefully apply themselves to the duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately; and whatsoever person shall not duly attend the public worship of God on the Lord's day, in some congregation allowed by law, provided there be any on which he can conscientiously and conveniently attend, unless hindered by sickness, or otherwise necessarily prevented, shall for every such offense, pay a fine of fifty cents; and being presented to authority, shall be deemed guilty thereof, if such person shall not be able to prove to the satisfaction of such authority, that he or she has attended the said worship."

In many of the pews in many or most of the meeting-houses, small swing tables or stands were placed, on which one might take notes of the sermon. I have seen some of the notes thus taken, for the practice had not entirely passed away when I was young.

Kedar, a negro slave of Dr. Jared Eliot, though unable to read or write, was still anxious to take notes from the preaching of his master as others did. Having obtained pen, ink, and paper, he made certain marks, which he showed to his master after service. His master, after he had looked at the paper, said, "Why, I can't read it." "Can't read it, massa? Why, every word came out of your own mouth."

On returning from meeting, the family usually had an early tea, or rather supper, for it was several generations before tea replaced beer and cider as a beverage. As soon as the sun was set, and the Sabbath, according to their reckoning, had passed by, there was the interchange of family visits, which promoted the charities of good neighborhood. In these interviews the conversation would turn upon the sermons which they had heard, the duties which had been enforced, and the sicknesses and bereavements which were noticed in the public prayers, and the news in the town generally. Thus, while the good impressions of the Sabbath were on their minds, they thought it a fitting time to cultivate the social affections with their friends and neighbors.

It should be remembered, that in many of the towns, for a long period, there was but a single worshiping assembly on the Sabbath. Nearly every family was here represented.

In the Heart of Mid Lothian, the Laird of Dumbiedykes is made to say that he saw Jennie Deans every Sabbath at church, and that was the reason why he came to think of marrying her.

Early marriages were general; frequently in the year in which the young man obtained his majority, and it often happened that his choice was made upon impressions received at church.

Each of them being members of a family before marriage, and accustomed to the duties and cares of a family, they did not find the responsibilities of their new family condition annoying. They carried the bud, and leaf, and flower of their early feelings into their wedded life, and never realized in their experience "the waste of feelings unemployed, the leafless desert of the mind," sometimes entailed upon the votaries of single blessedness.

J.

During a portion of the time in the period we are considering, namely, from 1783 to 1818, some of the most distinguished men that Connecticut ever produced, were living.

There was William Samuel Johnson, the most accomplished scholar in the Federal Convention in 1787, and afterwards President of Columbia College. There was Roger Sherman, "who never said a foolish thing, and who, in good sense, was surpassed by no one, unless it was Dr. Franklin." There was Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth, statesman, jurist, diplomatist; and said to be thought of by Washington as his successor. There was Silas Deane, associated with Dr. Franklin in the treaty with France, and instrumental in introducing Lafayette into this country. There was Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, the great war governor, to be known in all time as "Brother Jonathan." There was Samuel Huntington, his successor, President of the Continental Congress for two

years and Governor of the State from 1786 to 1796. There was Governor Jonathan Trumbull the younger, speaker in Congress. There was the brother of the latter, Col. John Trumbull, the aide-de-camp of Washington, and the great painter of Revolutionary scenes. There was Col. David Humphreys, the aide-de-camp of Washington, poet and diplomatist, who brought into this country the "true golden fleece." There was Eli Whitney, the great inventor. There was Pierrepont Edwards. There was Uriah Tracy, statesman and orator, in whom was united wisdom and wit. There was Dr. Noah Webster, the great lexicographer. There was Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and Governor of the State of Connecticut; and his cousin, Alexander Wolcott, a leading politician. There was Zephanias Swift, the Blackstone of Connecticut. There was Tapping Reeve, the learned author of works on law, and founder of the celebrated law school at Litchfield. Judge James Gould, who was associated with him in the same school, and added to its reputation by his accurate learning, his logical precision, and eloquent statements. In their school were educated 1,015 students. There was Timothy Pitkin, statesman and historian. There was Col. Jared Mansfield, a graduate of Yale College in 1777, surveyor-general of the United States, and Professor at West Point. There was Abiel Holmes, an eminent historian. There was Jedediah Morse, the eminent geographer. There was Roger Minott Sherman, rivaling Mr. Calhoun in his power of analysis. There was John Cotton Smith, a descendant of Rev. Henry Smith, of Wethersfield; Rev. John Cotton, of Boston; Rev. Cotton Mather, of Boston; and the Rev. William Worthington, of Saybrook; —the finished gentleman, as well as the accomplished Member of Congress, Governor of the State, and Judge of the Superior Court. There was Roger Griswold, who united the fine qualities of two noble families of Connecticut, the Wolcotts and the Griswolds, Member of Congress, Judge of the Superior Court, Governor of the State, and was appointed Secretary of War. There was Calvin Goddard, the peer of the two last. There were Stephen Titus Hosmer, David

Daggett, and Thomas S. Williams, each of them in turn Chief Justice of the State.

Nor should it be forgotten that several who became distinguished after 1818, received their education and laid the foundation for their eminence in the period we are considering. There were Roger S. Baldwin, William W. Ellsworth, Ralph I. Ingersoll, Samuel Church, William L. Storrs, Gideon Welles, George D. Prentice, and others.

There were also John Pierrepont, Mrs. Emma Willard, James A. Hillhouse, Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, Samuel G. Goodrich, Fitz-Greene Halleck, James Gates Percival, John G. C. Brainard, and George Hill.

K.

Some of the great English poets have given us portraits of the good parson or minister. The ministers of ancient Connecticut, in some of their features, resembled these portraits as much as if they had sat for them.

Thus Chaucer, born 1328, died 1400:

"Wide was his cure; the houses far asunder,
Yet never failed he, or for rain or thunder,
Whenever sickness or mischance might call,
The most remote to visit, great or small.
* * * * *
But dwelt at home, and guarded well his fold,
So that it should not by the wolf miscarry;
He was a shepherd, and no mercenary.
Tho' holy in himself and virtuous,
He still to sinful men was mild and piteous:
Not of reproach imperious or malign;
But in his teaching soothing and benign.
To draw them on to heaven, by reason fair
And good example, was his daily care.
But were there one perverse and obstinate,
Were he of lofty or of low estate,
Him would he sharply with reproof astound,
A better priest is nowhere to be found."

So, too, Dryden, born 1631, died 1700:

"With eloquence innate his tongue was armed;
Though harsh the precept, yet the people charmed,
For, letting down the golden chain from high,
He drew his audience upward to the sky:
* * * * *
He preached the joys of Heaven, and pains of Hell,
And warned the sinner with becoming zeal;
But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.
He taught the gospel rather than the law;
And forced himself to drive; but loved to draw."

So Goldsmith, born 1729, died 1774:

"Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And even his failings leaned to virtue's side;
But in his duty prompt, at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt, for all:
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.
* * * * *
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in Heaven.
As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

So Cowper, born 1731, died 1800:

"I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain,
And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
May feel it too; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men."

The ministers of Connecticut in the Revolution, nearly all of them, sleep with their several flocks, and the inscriptions on their gravestones are often read. Their descendants are still among us; their houses are pointed out to the stranger;

their lands are still called by their names. Anecdotes of some of them are still current among their people. Their record is on high.

L.

As has already been mentioned, the leading Federalists and the ministers of Connecticut were opposed to the war of 1812. Still they were decidedly in favor of resisting, by force of arms, all invasions and raids by the British. State troops were embodied for that purpose, and provision was made even for raising, for the same purpose, a body of exempts, under the command of Gen. David Humphreys, the aid-de-camp of Washington.

In the summer or early autumn of 1814, a frigate, a sloop of war, and several tenders were lying at anchor, near Faulkner's Island, belonging to the blockading squadron off New London, commanded at one time by Commodore Hardy, and afterwards by Admiral Hotham. These vessels, thus lying at Faulkner's Island, were regarded by the neighboring towns, Guilford, Branford, and Killingworth, as a standing menace. They would sometimes bellow forth from their great guns, their mimic thunder, to "startle the dull ear of night," and fill the minds of the fearful with forebodings of forthcoming evil.

One morning, about eight or nine o'clock, a man came riding through the streets of East Guilford, now Madison, from west to east, crying "Turn out! turn out! the British are coming! the British are coming!" On the word, numbers of the young and active men went down to the west wharf, to defend a vessel on the stocks against any attacks by the British. On our arrival, we found what proved to be two barges, forty-six men on board each, armed with muskets, there being a short cannon at the bow, a six-pounder, for carrying grape shot. These barges, impelled by the strong arms of trained oarsmen, came rushing along on the level brine, directly towards the vessel, behind which we had taken our

position, and where we had determined to give them a warm welcome.

Suddenly these barges changed their course, and steered directly for the east wharf, where they would arrive sooner than we could, who had to follow the windings of the shore. One of them went to the east side of the wharf, and proceeded to cut out a sloop, loaded with earthen ware, from Norwalk. Her consort took a position on the west side of the same wharf, nearly south of Scranton's fish-house, and about twelve or fifteen rods from the shore, for the purpose of supporting her.

Our company, increased to forty or fifty, took their position back of the beach, east of Scranton's fish-house, and commenced to fire upon the supporting barge. One of our men fired seventeen rounds at the barge, and another not more than seven, and all of them averaging about ten rounds. The prize having been carried off, the two barges left us.

In the early part of the action, Dr. John Eliot, the clergyman, and Dr. Jonathan Todd, the physician, came down on their horses, to be ready for the cure of the bodies and the cure of the souls. Both of them took their position under a hickory tree, and awaited the issue. A charge of grape-shot passed through the top of the tree, cutting off some of the branches, but without doing any further injury. Some of the elderly men told me that this was just what used to happen in the time of the Revolutionary War.

The minister and the physician always came down as soon as there was an alarm, to be ready for service. On this occasion there were none of us killed, thanks to the bad shooting of the British, though it was said that we killed two men, who were buried the next day on Goose Island, near Faulkners Island.

In one such skirmish during the Revolutionary War, there was a man by the name of Meigs killed by the British in East Guilford, near Fence Creek, just east of East Wharf.

M.

From the time of the meeting of the Federal Convention in 1787 to the close of the administration of John Adams in 1801, the star of Connecticut in the political hemisphere was in the ascendant, if not in its culmination. In that period Wm. Samuel Johnson, Oliver Ellsworth, and Roger Sherman had great influence in the Federal Convention. In that period those three men were a portion of the time Senators. There was Oliver Ellsworth. There was Oliver Wolcott, and Roger Griswold; there was Eliphalet Dyer, and Jesse Root, and Charles Chauncey; there was Stephen Mix Mitchell, member of Congress, Senator, and Chief-Justice of the State. In that period Samuel Huntington was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In that period was Johnathan Trumbull, the second Governor of that name. In that period Samuel W. Dana was a leading member of Congress, and one of the best, if not the best, scholar in that body. Chauncey Goodrich was at that time a leading member of Congress, of whom, when he was afterwards a Senator, Mr. Jefferson remarked: "I would give more for the opinion of that gray-headed Yankee than for that of one-third of the Senate." The following is the well-known testimony of Mr. Calhoun, from his speech in the Senate of the United States, February 20, 1847: (See Calhoun's Works, vol. iv, p. 354.) "It is owing—I speak it here in honor of New England and the Northern States—it is owing mainly to the States of Connecticut and New Jersey, that we have a federal instead of a national government—that we have the best government instead of the most despotic and intolerable on the earth. Who were the men of these States to whom we are indebted for this admirable government? I will name them. Their names ought to be engraven on brass and live for ever! They were Chief-Justice Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, and Judge Patterson of New Jersey. The other States farther south were blind; they did not see the future. But to the sagacity and coolness of these three men, aided by a few others, but not so prominent, we owe the present Constitution.

"So completely did the National party succumb, that during a large portion of the latter part of the sittings of the convention the word 'National' was not named. The 'Federal,' and the 'Union,' became the favorite names. The National party was completely overthrown; and what is remarkable, the very men who took the lead of the National party, assumed the name of 'Federalists,'—clearly showing that it had become the favorite name."

Having thus given the testimony of one distinguished man, Mr. Calhoun, in favor of Connecticut, I should hardly be excusable if I omitted to give the testimony of another, namely, Alexis de Tocqueville. This distinguished man, after spending some time in the United States, published in the year 1835, his celebrated work, *De la Democratic aux Etats Unis;* universally considered as the ablest work ever written by a foreigner on the nature of the confederation formed by the adoption of the present Federal Constitution. The translations of his two volumes were published in 1836 and 1840, which gave him great reputation in this country, as the original work had in countries in Europe.

Not long after this work was published, a number of American gentlemen celebrated the 4th of July in Paris, and invited Monsieur De Tocqueville to be present. Among the remarks made on the occasion Connecticut was mentioned by a native of that State. Upon this Monsieur De Tocqueville arose and exclaimed:

"*Connect-de-coot*, Vy, messieurs, I vill tell you, vid the permission of de presidante of this festi*val*, von very *lee*tal story, and then I vill give you von grand sentiment, to dat little State you call Connect-de-coot. Von day ven I was in de gallery of the House of Representatif, I held one map of the Confederation in my hand. Dere vas von leetle yellow spot dat dey called Connect-de-coot. I found by the Constitution he was entitled to six of his boys to represent him on dat floor. But ven I make de acquaintance person*elle* with de member, I find dat more than tirty of the Representatif on dat floor was born in Connect-de-coot. And then ven I was in the gallery of the House of the Sen*at*, I find de Constitu-

tion permit Connect-de-coot to send two of his boys to represent him in dat Legislature. But once more ven I make de acquaintance person*elle* of the Senator, I find nine of de Senator was born in Connect-de-coot. So, den, gentlemen, I have made my leetle speech; now I vill give you my grand sentiment:

"Connect-de-coot, the leetle yellow spot dat make de clock-peddler, de school-master, and de senator. De first, give you time; the second, tell you what you do with him; and de sird make your law and your civilization;"—and then, as he was resuming his seat amidst roars of laughter, he rose again, and with that peculiar gesticulation which characterizes all Frenchmen in moments of excitement, he shook his finger tremulously over the assembled *confrères*, and exclaimed to the top of his voice, "Ah! gentleman, dat leetle yellow State you call Connect-de-coot, is one very great miracle to me."

The Connecticut of to-day has much in it of the Connecticut of 1776, and much in it of the Connecticut of 1636. Still there have been great changes in government, in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry. There have been great changes in the instrumentalities of religion, in denominational opinions, and in patriarchal customs. There have likewise been great changes in educational and social institutions. The profit and loss from these changes can be better estimated from their long results, by those who come after us than by ourselves.

May that Gracious Being who holds the future in the hollow of his hand, and who can cause the wrath and the wisdom of man to praise him, so overrule the future as he has the past, that in 1976, men can say with the same adoring gratitude which ought to swell our hearts, *Qui transtulit sustinet.*

THE RELATIONS

OF THE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF CONNECTICUT

TO

CIVIL GOVERNMENT,

AND TO

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

I am invited to speak, historically, concerning "the relations of the Congregational churches of Connecticut to civil government and to popular education and social reforms," during the period of one hundred and forty years preceding the declaration of our national independence. The theme is large—larger, perhaps, than those who proposed it thought when they made the appointment, and I hope to be pardoned if my treatment of it shall seem inadequate and superficial.

We go back to the beginning. How did "civil government" begin in Connecticut? The story is not unfamiliar; but let us recollect its outlines. In the year 1636, three distinct companies of emigrants from England relinquished the settlement which they had formed in Massachusetts; and having made some preparation a few months before for their settlement beyond the jurisdiction of that colony, removed to a new land of promise on the banks of the Connecticut. Who were they? What were they? It is hardly enough to say that they were men who, in that age of ecclesiastical inquiry and conflict among Englishmen, had accepted the theory that every congregation of Christian believers, meeting statedly

for worship and edification, and recognizing each other as brethren in their common Lord, is a complete church of Christ, dependent only on Him for its right of self-government and for all its functions,—or, in one word, that they were Congregationalists. Nor is it quite enough to say that one great end of their original migration from England was, that in a new world not yet encumbered by old ecclesiasticisms, the growth of priestly or royal usurpation, they might worship God in churches instituted and controlled according to that theory. Let it be remembered, then, that the three distinct companies of emigrants who came from the colony of the Bay to begin a new colony on the River, were distinctly three, and not one, just because they were, or were to be three congregations for worship and Christian brotherhood—that is to say, three Congregational churches. That was the idea which determined the settlement of the three distinct companies in three distinct towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, and which was determined in all their civil and social arrangements. I will venture to illustrate this position by some particulars of the story.

What is now known as the First Church of Christ in Windsor, was gathered not at Windsor, nor anywhere this side of the Atlantic, but in old England. Just about the beginning of the year 1630, namely, in the month of March, a company of religious people from the three contiguous counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, had come together at the old seaport of Plymouth to embark for New England, expecting there to be neighbors and brethren. Before their embarkation (which was March 20, O. S.) they associated themselves by covenanting one with another as a church of Christ, on a day which they had set apart for that purpose, and which they kept with fasting and prayer. On that day (probably March 17) they completed their ecclesiastical organization by solemnly ordaining to the offices of pastor and teacher two of their own number who had been beneficed clergymen in the national church of England, John Warham and John Maverick. The church then and there constituted, having crossed the ocean, planted itself among the settle-

ments which Winthrop and his associates were then founding around the Massachusetts Bay. Dorchester was the name which those emigrants (some of them from Dorchester in old Dorsetshire) gave to their settlement. There they abode for a time, beginning to build their homes and cultivate their farms, maintaining public worship under the guidance of their colleague ministers, and providing for that worship a temporary edifice such as the newness of their enterprise would permit.

In like manner, the First Church of Christ in Hartford was instituted, not where it has been shining for these two hundred and forty years, but in Massachusetts, at a place which was then called Newtown. A large number of religious people in the English county of Essex, had been deprived of what they deemed a great privilege. By the operation of English law, Thomas Hooker, the gifted and earnest preacher whose ministry brought them to the knowledge of the truth and led them in the way of life, had been silenced and driven into Holland. Having communicated with him in the place of his retreat, they resolved upon migrating to New England and making a settlement in the wilderness with him for their spiritual leader. Some of them came over as early as 1632, and, after a short residence at Braintree, which received its name from them, removed to the "New Town" which the government of Massachusetts was forming, with the intention of making it their capital, and which, when that design was relinquished, became the seat of their college, and was therefore named Cambridge. At Newtown, those "of Mr. Hooker's company," as they came over, made their rendezvous. He himself, escaping with some difficulty from England, whither he had returned from Holland on his way to the New World, arrived in 1633, and with him came Samuel Stone, whom he had persuaded to accompany him, in the expectation of being associated with him in his ministry. There, at Newtown, the company of emigrants from Essex became a church ; and on the 11th=21st of October, a fast was kept, and the two ministers were ordained to their offices of pastor and teacher.

Another of the earliest churches gathered in Massachusetts was that of Watertown. It consisted largely of those who had come over under the leadership of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the chiefs in the enterprise of founding the colony of the Bay. He had agreed with them in the selection of George Phillips to minister the word of God in their contemplated settlement. They were part of the great emigration with Winthrop in 1630. Arriving at Salem, the earliest of them on the 12th of June (O. S.), they were so prompt in selecting a place for their settlement, and in removing to it, that on the 30th of July they were ready to consecrate their town by instituting the Church of Christ in Watertown. In the words of Cotton Mather, "They resolved that they would combine into a church-fellowship there as their *first* work, and build the house of God before they could build many houses for themselves; thus they sought first the kingdom of God."

Those few towns around Boston harbor had hardly been instituted—their municipal and religious institutions had not really taken root—when the superior attractiveness of the rich alluvial banks on the great New England river began to be felt. An embassy came from the Indians on the river, desiring to have an English settlement among them, for they hoped to obtain in that way protection against their enemies, the ferocious Pequots.* Two years later, the Plymouth colony invited Massachusetts to join in making a commercial establishment on the river, for the benefit of both colonies. For some reason, Winthrop and his associates at Boston declined all such invitations. But meanwhile the thought of a new colony beyond the jurisdiction of the chartered "Governor and Company of Massachusetts," was growing into a purpose; and the result was that, after a year or two of argument and agitation, the consent of Massachusetts to the founding of such a colony was reluctantly given. The church of Newtown, as a church, with its officers, and the church of Dorchester, in like manner, removed to Connecticut. Doubtless they left behind them some of their members in each of those places;—the Dor-

* Winthrop, History of New England, i, 52.

chester church lost one of its ministers,—its teacher Maverick, who died February 13, 1630, while the removal was in progress, and of whom it is testified that he was "faithful in furthering the work of the Lord both in the churches and civil state."* Doubtless those who chose to remain for the purpose of reorganization, were fraternally dismissed. Nevertheless, the fact is that those two churches removed to Connecticut as churches, each of them bringing its entire organization unbroken; and that other churches were gathered in the places thus vacated. That which is now known as the First Church in Cambridge, was instituted with all formality† (Feb. 1=11, 1636) before the original church under Hooker and Stone set out (April 30=May 10) on its march through the wilderness;‡ and "a new church was gathered at Dorchester,"§ (Aug. 23=Sept. 3) three months later.

It was not so with the Watertown church. Instead of removing to Connecticut in its corporate character, with the other two churches, it remained in its original seat with its pastor. Some of its members—a small minority—were dismissed "with intent to form anew in a church covenant," at the river, and they had done so (April 26=May 6) ‖ before Hooker and his great caravan set out from Newtown. Thus, in that plantation also, there was a Congregational church at the very beginning, just as there was in the other two. In each of those three settlements—known at first as Dorchester, Newtown, and Watertown, but afterwards named Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield — the Church of Christ, instituted according to the Congregational theory, was the first rudiment of their social organization.

Their civil affairs were conducted at first by a simply provisional government, originating (as the records of Massachusetts incidentally inform us) "from the desire of the people that removed, who judged it inconvenient to go away without any frame of government,—not from any claim of the Massachusetts of jurisdiction over them by virtue of patent." So careful were the founders of the new colony to define the origin of their civil government. They took

* Winthrop i, 181. † *Ibid.*, 180. ‡ *Ibid.*, i, 187.
§ *Ibid.*, 192. ‖ Col. Records of Conn., i, 2.

pains to have it put upon record in Massachusetts, that even the provisional government under which the first stakes were to be driven, derived its power not from that chartered Governor and Company, nor from the grant of the Earl of Warwick to certain noblemen and gentlemen in England, but from the desire and consent of the people. When that provisional government (limited by its commission to one year) had expired, a "General Court," consisting of magistrates and committees from the towns, appears upon the record as a matter of course, without any explanation. May 1=11, 1637.)* As yet there was no written or formal constitution, but the committees, or deputies from the several towns, "chose their magistrates, installed them into their government, took oath of them for the execution of justice according to God, and engaged themselves to submit to their government and the execution of justice by their means, and dispensed by the authority which they put upon them by choice."† By that General Court war was waged, taxes were imposed and collected, trade was regulated, all the legislative functions of government were performed as there was need. At the close of the year that court declared itself dissolved, and its successor was constituted in the same way, for the ensuing year. (April, 1638.) Before the ensuing year had rounded its course, a written constitution was established, (Jan. 14=24, 1639)—the first in the history of nations.

The preamble of that constitution begins by devoutly acknowledging the Divine Providence which had brought the inhabitants of the three towns to their new abode. Then, having affirmed the principle that "where a people are gathered together, the Word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God;" it proceeds, "We do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves as one public State or Commonwealth, and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any

* Conn. Col. Rec., i, 9.

† Thomas Hooker to John Winthrop, in Collections of Conn. Historical Society, i, 13, 14.

time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches which according to the truth of said gospel is now practiced among us ;—As also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as shall be made, ordered, and decreed, as followeth." Then follow the eleven Fundamental Orders, by which civil offices are instituted and defined, and the election of officers is provided for, and according to which the self-government of the new "public State or Commonwealth" is to be conducted,—all power reverting, year by year, to the people from whom it proceeds.

In the light of these details we see vividly, what the Congregational churches of Connecticut had to do with the beginning of civil government on the river two hundred and forty years ago. 1. The founding of the colony in those three towns was by and for the churches ; and in each town the church, having been constituted by the mutual agreement of its members, and by their covenant with each other and with God, was the first rudiment of organized social life. 2. From the method in which these churches were formed, by agreement and covenant, without seeking to derive their rights and powers from any other source than Christ himself, it was an obvious and easy step to the formation of a "public State or Commonwealth" by the same method of agreement and covenant—a Commonwealth deriving its *rights* of self-government directly from the will of God.

We have other testimony, showing more definitely under whose teaching and influence that first written constitution of a civil government was formed. Among the Puritans of old time, it was a custom to take notes of the sermons which they heard ; and so Henry Wolcott, Junior, (a leading man in the settlement of Windsor,) used to make his stenographic record of sermons in a book which was preserved by his descendants—though to them, generation after generation, it was a sealed book. Not many years ago, there was brought forth from that book, by patient and skillful deciphering, a sermon (or rather the heads of a sermon) preached by Thomas

Hooker at Hartford, May 31, 1638. It was a week-day lecture; for May 31, that year, was Thursday. That it was preached on some occasion of general concourse, may be inferred from the matter of it, and from the fact that Mr. Henry Wolcott, Jr., from Windsor, was there taking notes. From the text, Deut. i, 13, "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you," the preacher deduced these three heads of "doctrine." I. "The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance." II. "The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God." III. "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." In illustration and support of these doctrines, the preacher affirmed, as a principle of "reason" or common-sense, that "the foundation of authority [in civil government] is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people." When he came to the "uses"—or, as we should say, the *application* of his discourse—he called on his hearers to acknowledge thankfully "God's faithfulness" towards them, and the good providence which had made it practicable for them thus to "choose" their own "public magistrates in the fear of God, and "to set the bounds and limitations of the power" with which their magistrates should be invested—that good providence which (in other words) had made them free to organize their infant commonwealth by "such measures as God doth command and vouchsafe." Most naturally did the preacher conclude his discourse with an appeal, which the short-hand reporter summed up in the words, "Exhortation—to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it."* That sermon by Thomas Hooker from the pulpit of the First Church in Hartford, is the earliest known suggestion of a fundamental law, enacted not by royal charter, nor by concession from any previously existing government, but by the people themselves—a primary and supreme law by which the government is constituted, and which not only provides for

* J. H. Trumbull, in Collections of Conn. Historical Society, i, 19–21.

the free choice of magistrates by the people, but also "sets the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which" each magistrate is called.

Remember the date of that Thursday lecture, May 31= June 10, 1638—nearly eight months before the eleven articles of the first written constitution were "sentenced, ordered, and decreed" in a full assembly of the people. We may reasonably assume that others besides Henry Wolcott, Jr., took notes of it,—at least we may believe that others took careful notice of it and remembered it. We may be sure that the doctrine and the exhortation of the sermon were talked about not only among the leading men, such as Haynes, Ludlow, and the rest, but by the farmers in their corn-fields, and in casual meetings of two or three, and (as the days grew short and the evenings long) by neighbors gathered around some glowing fireside. We may be sure that many a text not only from the Old Testament, but from Rom. xiii, and many other New Testament passages, was handled in sermons on Sabbath-days and lecture-days, and that the doctrine propounded by Mr. Hooker was discussed in the two other pulpits. We may be sure that the first draught of the Fundamental Orders was made early enough to be carefully considered; that every word of it was judiciously pondered, and every phrase corrected that seemed dubious; that even the omission of all reference to the king, or to any superior authority in England, was not accidental; and that, when the finished instrument was submitted to the people, they knew what they were doing, and what was to be the significancy and effect of their vote. They knew that in the exercise of a Divine Right they were establishing civil government in what had been, but was never more to be, a wilderness; and that the government which they were establishing was to be administered by chosen servants of the people constantly responsible to the people for the exercise of powers strictly bounded and limited. The entire proceeding was a great advance beyond the political wisdom of former times; and what the three churches of Connecticut had to do with the development of that political wisdom in

the three towns of Connecticut, is too manifest to be disputed.

Before any white man had settled on the soil of Connecticut, the entire territory of our State had become in English law the property of the Puritan Earl of Warwick. In 1632, he transferred that possession to several noblemen and gentlemen who, by his deed or patent, were constituted proprietors of Connecticut. It was with the consent—or at least the acquiescence—of these proprietors as represented by their agents at Boston,* that the colony was established on the river. It was under a similar arrangement that the originally independent towns which, after a little while, became the New Haven colony, were planted. Those proprietors or patentees, Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brook, Lord Rich, and eight distinguished knights and gentlemen, of whom one was John Pym, and another was John Hampden—were among the most advanced leaders of the reforming party of England; and they seem to have cared less for the uncertain power of governing their territory than for having it planted with Englishmen of the right sort. Let us look then, at the beginning of civil government in this part of Connecticut, and see what was the relation of the Congregational churches to that beginning.

On the 26th of July,=5th of August, 1637, the ship Hector arrived at Boston, in company with another ship, both from London. In these vessels came a distinguished company of emigrants of whom the two most conspicuous were John Davenport lately vicar of the parish of St. Stephens, Coleman street, London, and Theophilus Eaton, of the same parish, an eminent merchant. Others of the company were from the same metropolitan parish, following the late vicar in his exile. They had come to New England—the leaders and their followers—with the intention of becoming a church, and of making a "plantation" or settlement for that purpose. They were welcomed at Boston, as bringing a large increase of strength to New England; and many offers were made to them both in Massachusetts and in the Plymouth colony.

*J. H. Trumbull, Historical Notes on the Constitution of Conn., 5.

But for various reasons, they chose to make a new beginning. A few weeks after their arrival (as we learn from the contemporary record of Winthrop), "Mr. Eaton and some others of Mr. Davenport's company went to view Quinepiack with intent to begin a plantation there,"*—*i. e.* if the prospect should seem favorable. We may assume that Eaton with his exploring party arrived at this point not far from September 14=24. He saw the "broad-armed port,"—the wooded plain just beginning to put on its autumn glory,—the basaltic bluffs that face the harbor,—the ranges of hills on the east and the west,—the streams that receive their waters from those hills,—the river, floating here and there an Indian canoe, and inviting to inland exploration,—and why might there not be here a commercial city? Some of the exploring party (as the local tradition tells us) were left here for the winter to make such preparation as would be necessary if this should be dedetermined on as the place for the intended plantation. For almost nine months after the arrival of the Hector in the port of Boston, "Mr. Davenport's company" seem to have held the question about the place of their settlement undecided,—their judgment gradually shaping itself in favor of this location. When the end of winter was at hand, the decision could be no longer postponed, and on the 12th=22d of March, 1638, Davenport and Eaton, in behalf of their company, announced the decision in a formal letter to the Governor and assistants, and the General Court of Massachusetts. They had come "to a full and final conclusion," and had "sent letters to Connectacutt for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck, from the natives which might 'pretend title thereunto.'" They considered themselves, therefore, "absolutely and irrevocably engaged that way;" and with devout expressions of Christian friendship, they bade farewell to Massachusetts.

The company had been re-inforced in Massachusetts by

* The date of that expedition (Aug. 31), was five days after the return of Stoughton with the force under his command, which had finished the Pequot war. See what Stoughton had written about "Quillipeage river, and so beyond to the Dutch." Winth., i, 481, also p. 233.

not a few who had been previously settled there, and having completed their arrangements, they sailed from Boston, March 30=April 9, 1638. In planning their enterprise, and preparing for it, they had not overlooked the necessity of a compact among themselves, including a provisional government. Having come together, they kept a day of fasting;* and on that day, "the whole assembly of free-planters"—all the partners in the enterprise—bound themselves to each other by a religious covenant which they called "a plantation covenant," and which (though no copy of it has been preserved), included doubtless, a preliminary and *pro tempore* arrangement for maintaining peace and order in the town they were to establish, and for transacting their civil affairs, as well as for the ordinary business of their partnership. Thus, when they landed here, they were not a mere crowd of men, women, and children, masters and servants, but an organized company held together by a sacred compact. They had not yet become in form a church, nor had they organized definitively their civil commonwealth; but they had come hither for the purpose of constituting a church, and at the same time a state. Only a single provision of their "plantation covenant" is distinctly known to us,—namely, "that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices [duties], which concern civil order,"—"we will, all of us, be ordered by those rules which the Scripture holds forth to us." Under that "plantation covenant," they seem to have conducted their civil affairs, and their public worship and religious edification, for a period of more than sixteen months after their landing on the soil which they had bargained for with the native proprietors, and on which they were to build their homes. At the close of that period, their church was constituted [Aug. 22=Sept. 1, 1639]; but it was not till nine weeks later [Oct. 25], that the civil government was finally organized, and the announcement solemnly proclaimed: "All former power or trust for managing any public affairs in this plantation, into whose hands soever formerly

* "The first day of extraordinary humiliation we had *after we came together*." N. H. Col. Records, 12.

committed, is now abrogated and from henceforward utterly to cease."

Such was the beginning of civil government in the new settlement at Quinipiack. That civil government, let us remember, was not formed for a nation like the people of England, nor for a great colony with a royal charter of privileges like the then existing colony of Massachusetts, nor for a cluster of settlements like the three towns of Connecticut, nor for some Utopian commonwealth in the realm of imagination. Milford and Guilford were coming into existence at the same time with New Haven, and were shaping their institutions in accordance with the same ideas; but the three plantations were severally independent, and it was not till four years later that they were "combined" and began to be known as the New Haven colony or jurisdiction. The government which "the free planters" set up here, October 25= Nov. 4, 1639, was simply an arrangement for administering justice and keeping the peace in one plantation, such as Plymouth was in its beginning. It did not occur to those free planters that they were not to manage the affairs of their partnership in their own way. They had purchased a certain tract of land for their own use, and they intended not to lose the control of it. They had purchased the soil, and were intending to live upon it and to be buried in it, for the purpose of founding and perpetuating here a church which should not be under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, nor subject in any way to the ecclesiastical laws and courts with which their experience in their native country had made them well acquainted. Therefore they determined, unanimously, that the government which they were setting up should not, by any negligence of theirs, pass into the hands of their enemies, the enemies of their great religious enterprise. Let us remember that what they most feared, and had most reason to fear, was that, in some way, the ecclesiastical government of England, with its bishops' courts and bishops' prisons, its High Commission for causes ecclesiastical, and its whole body of canon law, would follow them into their retreat and be obtruded upon their plantation in this

wilderness; and we can understand why it was that those planters, in full assembly, without a dissenting vote, resolved that none but members of the church which they were forming, or of other approved churches, should participate in the government of their plantation.

Such then was the relation of the Congregational churches to the beginning of civil government in this part of Connecticut. A company of religious men came hither for the express purpose of being at liberty to "gather and order" churches—not according to act of Parliament, nor according to the will of the High Commission Court, nor under the royal supremacy of Charles, Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, but—under the supremacy of Christ alone, and according to "those rules which the Scripture holds forth,"—or, more exactly, which the Scripture, in their devout study of its rules and precedents, did hold forth to *them*. Therefore they declared in full assembly, unanimously, that "they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinances [*i. e.* of Christian worship and communion], to themselves and their posterity," God's word in Scripture being the rule and warrant.

Well, what sort of a civil government did they establish? Just the simplest that would serve their purpose,—a government in which (notwithstanding the known preferences of the lords and knights who held the Earl of Warwick's patent) there were to be no hereditary distinctions of rank or power,—a government in which every man might partake, with no other qualification than personal character and professed loyalty to the chief end of the plantation, attested by the suffrages of his friends and neighbors admitting him, at his own request, to their communion. First, there was a "general court," beginning with the seven who had been chosen by all the free-planters for "the foundation work" in church and state, and increased from time to time by the admission of all who being qualified according to "the fundamental agreement," were willing to share in the responsibility. Then there was a subordinate court, consisting of a "magis-

trate"—not governor—and four "deputies," all chosen annually by "the general court," the duty of the deputies being "to assist the magistrate in all courts called by him for the occasions of the plantation."

It was under these forms that civil government began in the plantations which were, not long afterwards, combined as the New Haven colony, adopting as the organic law of their combination, a written constitution resembling in its provisions that of the sister colony on the river, yet differing from it by rigorously maintaining the rule that political power, in the several towns and in the general jurisdiction over them, should be entrusted only to members "of the approved churches in New England."

In that first age, then, the relation of the Congregational churches to civil government was so close that both the merit and the demerit of the latter, in either of the two colonies, must be ascribed to the former. Civil government, whether on the river or on the sound, was instituted for the Congregational churches, and by their members. Constitutions were framed, laws were enacted, all the administration of civil affairs was determined, not indeed by the churches in church-meetings, but by members of the churches acting as members of the State. If the constitution of the river colony was liberal, far in advance of the age, let that merit be ascribed to the churches there, and to their ministers, and pre-ëminently to the renowned pastor of Hartford, Thomas Hooker,—than whom no more illustrious mind came from the mother country to the colonization of New England. If the "fundamental agreement" at New Haven guarded too carefully, and therefore mistakenly, the freedom of the churches, let the blame of that over-carefulness rest on those churches, and primarily on that pastor, John Davenport, who swayed by his imperial force of mind not only the New Haven church, but the others also.

Yet let the fact be observed that, so long as the New Haven jurisdiction continued, there was no meddling of the civil government in matters properly ecclesiastical. Nor do we find any trace of inability in the churches of that juris-

diction to manage their own affairs. We find, indeed, that by the organic law of the "combination" of towns under a common government, it was "agreed and concluded" that the General Court "shall with all care and diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and shall suppress the contrary, according to their best light from the word of God, and all wholesome and sound advice which shall be given by the elders and churches in the jurisdiction, *so far as may concern their civil power to deal therein.*"* But in the code of the river colony, it is more explicitly, and more sweepingly, "ordered and decreed," that "the civil authority here established hath power and liberty to see the peace ordinances and rules of Christ be observed in every church, according to his word; as also to deal with any church member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office, or interest, *so it be done in a civil and not in an ecclesiastical way:* nor shall any church censure, degrade, or depose any man from any civil dignity, office, or authority he shall have in the commonwealth."† Observe the difference. In both colonies, there is conceded to the State a certain guardianship over religious interests, but differently defined. In New Haven, it is made the *duty* of the General Court to protect the great interest of pure Christianity, not only seeking "light from the word of God,"—the rule in all proceedings, but also considering "all wholesome and sound advice" from "the elders and churches in the jurisdiction." In the river colony, on the other hand, there is another theory of what the State may do in church affairs. "The civil authority here established," hath power and liberty not only "to deal with any church member in a way of civil justice,"—nor only to provide that no church censure shall have any civil effect or consequence; but also to superintend the churches as such in their administration of their own affairs and to see that "every church" observes "the ordinances and rules of Christ;"—and the power of determining finally and without appeal what are "the ordinances and rules of Christ according to his word," is not left in the churches, each reading and

* N. H. Col. Records, i, 115. † Conn. Col. Records, i, 524, 525.

interpreting for itself, but is lodged, unequivocally, in the civil authority, quite independently of "wholesome and sound advice" from any quarter. How this responsibility of the churches to "the civil authority" was understood in the Connecticut of those days is abundantly illustrated from the records of that colony.

As early as 1644, an excommunicated member of the church in Hartford brings his petition to the General Court for relief; and instead of being informed that no civil authority is competent to such a business, he is told "that he ought to bring into the court the particulars of his accusation that the church of Hartford may give answer thereto."* Such, at that time, "was the relation of the Congregational churches of Connecticut to civil government," that the Hartford church, with Thomas Hooker for pastor, and Samuel Stone for teacher, was made defendant in a civil court on an appeal from its censure of excommunication. Just such tutelage of the churches by the civil authority marks the history of Connecticut for more than a hundred years from its beginning. Church difficulties seem to have come, almost as a matter of course, under the cognizance of the General Court; and Queen Elizabeth herself, in her time, could hardly have been Supreme Head of the Church of England, more completely than that General Court assumed to be supreme over all the churches within its territorial jurisdiction. The semi-Erastian episcopate of the civil authority over the churches collectively, and over every church particularly, was constantly pernicious.

Wethersfield had its church quarrel which seems to have been aggravated by civil interference till it rent the town asunder. Windsor had its church quarrel, and the General Court meddled and mediated to no good end. Hartford had its church quarrel, which, under the care and meddlesomeness of the General Court, grew worse and worse till the church was rent in twain. Before the suppression of the New Haven jurisdiction in 1664, there was already in Connecticut a strong and growing party determined to subvert the purely

* Conn. Col. Records, i, 106, 111.

Congregational constitution of the churches, and to establish in place of it that Old-World system which Davenport called "the parish way,"—a system which substitutes the territorial parish for the covenanted church, and invests the parish minister with a sort of lordship over the brotherhood. Whether the contending parties knew it or not, the bottom question in those church controversies which agitated the Connecticut colony and gave the General Court so much trouble, seems to have been, in reality, the question between the old-England parish way and the Congregational way of the Pilgrims. It had not yet been found out in that colony—and indeed some good men even now seem not to know—that if a Congregational church does not govern itself it can not be governed at all; and therefore the General Court, instead of being discouraged by the ill success of one experiment after another, went on usurping more and more of jurisdiction over ecclesiastical concerns. It was that growing Erastianism in Connecticut—that intermeddling of the state with the church—that increasing proclivity toward "the parish way,"—which broke down the courage of Davenport, when, in his declining age, he saw his own colony absorbed by Connecticut, and these churches on the sound, which till then had been undisturbed in their self-government, brought under the tutelage of that civil authority which had managed so badly in attempting to govern the churches on the river. This is what he was thinking of when he said in his despondency, "Christ's interest in New Haven colony is miserably lost."

I find myself repeating some things which I said years ago at the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of our General Association, and which were printed in the volume of "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut." Therefore I will proceed no farther, in this direction, than simply to say that, for a long time after the absorption of the New Haven colony, the relation of the Congregational churches of Connecticut to civil government was subordination and subjection. Puritanism, as in the Westminster Assembly, exalted itself against Congregationalism. For more than a century, the attempt was persistently made to get rid of the

simple and primitive polity which the Pilgrims brought with them from Leyden, which Davenport and Hooker alike had defended, and which had been formulated, somewhat crudely, in the Cambridge Platform. Even the word "Congregational" was dropped and disowned as no longer descriptive of the Connecticut church polity. Yet that subjection of the churches to "the civil authority here established," was by no means a quiet subjection; for (and let us be thankful that it is so), so long as a church retains any of the forms of Congregationalism with anything of the spirit which deduced those forms from the Scriptures,—so long as it derives its right of self-government directly from Christ—so long it will be unquiet under any attempt to govern it by outside authority whether civil or ecclesiastical. Accordingly the civil government of Connecticut found by long and laborious experience, that its assumed episcopate over the churches of Connecticut was by no means a sinecure. It would be a ludicrous story, and yet a sad one, if I should tell what trouble the Honorable Assembly had in its "care of all the churches." There were conflicts about the right of admission to sacramental privileges—conflicts about the authority of pastors to rule and overrule the brotherhood—conflicts prior to the Saybrook Platform, and worse conflicts under the Saybrook Platform—conflicts between large minorities and small majorities about the settlement of ministers; and every such conflict was deemed a fit occasion for the interference of the civil government. The meddlesome interference in such cases continued, and proceeded from bad to worse, till at last it became intolerable, and the genius of Congregationalism, reviving in the great religious revival, began to reassert itself. Meanwhile successive steps of legislation had been unwittingly preparing the way for the emancipation of the churches.

At first there were no known dissenters from the established, or (as we say) Congregational, churches. Forty years after the beginning of the colony, the only pronounced dissenters were "four or five Seventh-day men, and about so many more Quakers." But in 1707 there began to be in

Stratford a society professing conformity to the Church of England; and, the next year, it was provided by law, in imitation of the English statute (1689) that "such persons as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established by the laws" might maintain public worship in their own way. This was the first concession, by law, to liberty of worship in Puritan Connecticut—a concession to adherents of the English establishment, whose society at Stratford was the first attempt to organize dissent within the limits of the colony. From this beginning there was progress in the concession of liberty to one denomination after another of dissenters from the established order—to Church-of-England men, to Baptists, and to Quakers; though Congregationalism, meanwhile, was rigorously held in with bit and bridle by the civil government. The story of the measures taken by the legislature and magistracy of Connecticut, to regulate the "disorders" connected with, or consequent upon, the Great Awakening, is simply disgraceful. Nor was the effect on religious interests any better than the effort of similar attempts elsewhere and in other ages. The enthusiasm of the "Separates"—as they were called, who withdrew from the worship and ministry established by law, and fell back on the "strict Congregationalism" of the original Separatists from the Church of England—became more extravagant, and their disorders more conscientious, under the policy which attempted to suppress them by civil power. At last, by the irresistible tendency of a vital force in the State and in the churches,—*at last*, I say, but not completely till within the present century—the Congregational churches were freed from the civil episcopate that had so long embarrassed them. Now, at last, we may say without contradiction from any quarter, that the polity of our Connecticut churches is identical with the polity of the New England churches; and that their Congregational self-government is essentially the same with that which was expounded by Hooker and Davenport—essentially the same with that for which the martyrs under Queen Elizabeth were hanged.

Yet, through all the period from the union of the colonies

to the Declaration of Independence (110 years), the influence of the churches on civil government was as great as the influence of civil government on the churches, and was far more beneficial. Indeed, it would be difficult to discriminate between the life of the churches, through all that period, and the life of the State with which they were so closely connected. The influence by which public opinion on all great questions was formed and directed, came from the churches under the leadership of their ministry. In every town, the men of chief weight and influence were ordinarily the leading men in the church, and were always in relations of intimacy with the minister. Every Governor in either colony before the union, and afterwards every Governor in the united colony down to the year 1811, was in his own town a member of the church in full communion. As in the days of Thomas Hooker, so afterwards, it was from the pulpit—on Sabbath-days and lecture-days, and especially on fast-days and thanksgiving-days, but most eminently on election-days—that men heard what stimulated and guided their thinking on public affairs. They were taught, from God's word, that he who hath made of one blood all nations of men, is no respecter of persons, Cæsar in purple and the beggar in rags being equal before him the Judge of all; that the relation between the powers that are by the providence of God, and the people subject to those powers, is a relation of reciprocal duty; and that, as the church is not for the minister, but the minister for the church, so every civil ruler—whether king or governor—whether a justice of the peace in some frontier settlement, or a chief-justice in Westminster Hall—is for the commonwealth, and not the commonwealth for him. Certain practical inferences from such principles were easily made when the cloud of threatened usurpation began to rise over the sea; for though the cloud seemed at first no bigger than a man's hand, it was even then, to the instructed eye, portentous of a flood that would sweep away all the foundations of just government. It was not difficult for men of common sense—New England men—who revered their pastor, not for his priestly ephod, nor for his awful wig, nor for

some ineffable quality supposed to be imparted by the touch of apostolic hands, but only "for his work's sake," his *personal* fitness for his work and his fidelity in it,—to infer that the king himself was to be honored, not for his crown and jeweled scepter, nor for his royal robes, nor yet for his "blue blood" and his descent "from loins enthroned" of other ages, nor for the mysterious "divinity that doth hedge a king,"—but only for *his* "work's sake." From that position another inference was easy: If George III, in violation of God's law, in violation of charters and of the laws which made him king, is faithless to his appointed work—if, instead of protecting his subjects from injustice, he lends his power to schemes for their oppression—the loyalty due to him for his work's sake, is no longer due, and the fundamental compact between him and them is broken by his fault. The relation of the Congregational churches of Connecticut to civil government at the time when American liberty was to be secured by the achievement of American independence, appears in the well-known fact that of the few Tories in Connecticut, there were almost none who had not been trained for a while under a very different ministration of religion.

I forbear to speak of the service done to the cause of American liberty by individual pastors of these churches, in the few years next preceding the Declaration of Independence. The time forbids me to speak of what was done, from the pulpit and through the press, by Stephen Johnson of Lyme, by Ebenezer Baldwin of Danbury, by Nathan Strong of Hartford, by James Dana of Wallingford, by Levi Hart of Preston, and by others. Let it suffice that the associated ministers of our Congregational churches have taken upon themselves in the General Association the duty of commemorating those services.

Other topics were included in the subject assigned to me for this occasion. But I must pass by them, with only the briefest notice.

Why need I expatiate on the historic relation of our churches "to popular education?" Such was the connection between the churches and the State that, from the beginning

of our history, our common schools, so fundamental to the new civilization that was planted here, were in reality church schools. The earliest legislation concerning them, whether in the river colony or in the New Haven colony, announces a religious, a Christian, a Protestant motive for establishing and maintaining them. Where there was a church for all the people, not to have schools for all the children was an absurdity. The minister in every town or parish was of course, and indeed by the stress of necessity, superintendent of the schools in that town or parish. When towns were divided into ecclesiastical societies for the support of public worship, the support of public schools was also a function of the ecclesiastical society; and in every school there was the reading of the Bible and the recitation of the catechism.

Such, through all the years till 1776, was the relation of these churches to popular education in the limited sense. But if we take the phrase in its broader sense, as including not only the instruction which every child is expected to receive, but also a more advanced instruction, provided either by municipalities or by public institutions for all who aspire to higher degrees of knowledge, we find the same influence of the churches and their ministers in whatever was attempted for the Commonwealth in the way of higher and liberal education—the education of youth "for public service in church or state." The oldest institution of learning in Connecticut is the Hopkins Grammar School, which owes its existence not simply to the benefactor whose name it bears, but even more to the first pastor of the First Church in New Haven. So the "collegiate school," which was begun one hundred and seventy-six years ago, and which is now our famous University, owes its existence not to the man whose name it has immortalized, but to those ministers of "the Congregational churches of Connecticut" who, as representing these churches and their ministry, became in fact and law its founders, and whose successors remain to this day its chartered guardians.

Yet these historical allusions are by no means an adequate representation of what our churches have done—still less of

what they ought to have done for "popular education." A Congregational church (and this is true, in one degree or another, of all true churches) is itself an educating institution, a school for the people—not for its communicants only and their children, but for all the households gathered into its weekly assemblies; nay, for all the people within the reach of its influence as a local institution. We talk about Sunday-schools, and in these days they are doing much for popular education. Before 1776 there were no Sunday-schools in the modern and technical sense. But is not a Congregational church, itself, a Sunday-school in the broadest and highest meaning of that phrase? Is not some degree of intelligence in its members—some familiarity with that old and unique collection of books, the Bible—a primary condition of its existence? Is not every member of it required to have some knowledge of the highest themes of human thought? Is not its ministry a teaching ministry? Its worship—the mode of worship in Congregational and Puritan churches—has been censured for the lack of ritual pomp; no priestly vestments of divers colors; no surpliced choirs with antiphonal chanting; no mediæval architecture with long-drawn aisle and fretted roof; no stage-effect of slow processions moving to solemn music; no pictured saints in "storied windows richly dight;" no crucifix or gilded cross toward which the eye may turn in prayer; no attempt to move the religious sensibility through the bodily senses, or otherwise than by thought expressed in words. We acknowledge the fact, and God forbid that we should try to get rid of it. Our public worship, as our fathers worshiped in their churches, was not sensuous, not histrionic, but such as is best described by the Apostle's phrase, translated, "reasonable service," (λογικὴ λατρεία)—rational or thinking worship—the sort of worship which is rendered not by the bended knee alone, nor by words alone mechanically or melodiously recited,—but by the mind in the exercise of its intelligent powers. In public worship thus conducted, the congregation is trained to a thoughtful habit, not less thoughtful for being reverent and devout. I say, therefore, that the church, in its Sabbath assembly,

under its teaching ministry, the church, praying, witnessing, and following on to know the Lord, is a school for the people, old and young, and is, by its very nature, one of the most efficient agencies in the work of popular education. Let the history of Connecticut in the early days when barbarism was the first danger, and through the colonial period—let the character with which its almost unanimous people (already republican for a hundred and forty years) entered upon the career of our national independence, testify to the capability of churches as institutions for the education of the people.

It remains for me to say something about the relation of the Congregational churches, in this Commonwealth, to "social reforms," before 1776. But what shall I say? What do we mean by "social reforms" in the plural? Had the phrase been put in the singular number, I should have understood it to mean the progressive reformation of society in respect to morality, bringing the sentiments and the habits of society nearer continually to the Christian ideal. That is just what the churches and their ministry were trying to do, according to their light, through all the generations of the period which we are reviewing. I do not find that there had ever been a conception of reforms conducted by specialists or of reforming societies and conventions, each with its one idea, and each agitating for its own specialty. When a pastor saw in his parish a prevalent or growing immorality, he could not send for a specialist to come and do his work for him; but it was his duty, and a necessity was laid upon him, to hold up the light of God's word as bearing on that immorality, and so to demand and effect the needed reformation. Whenever a church found, in anybody subject to its discipline, a definite violation of God's law, it was the duty of that church to testify against the wrong, by censure demanding penitent confession. Doubtless, pastors were sometimes deficient in courage, and sometimes slow in the discernment of evils to be rebuked; doubtless churches were sometimes slack, and sometimes indiscreet in their treatment of scandals; but there is no room to doubt that, on the whole, the churches with their teaching ministry were faithful to their

calling as conservators of whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, of good report. Whatever may have been the need of "social reform," in one department of morality and another, a hundred years ago, we may challenge the world to show anywhere else, at that time, a people equally numerous, whose moral sentiments and moral habits were nearer to the Christian ideal, than were those habits and sentiments which the people of Connecticut had learned under the influence of Congregational churches. We trust that in some things we are better than they were. Oh, that our descendants, a hundred years hence, may be in all things as much better than we are!

P. S. On page 161, the difference between Puritanism and Congregationalism is adverted to. In illustration of that difference, see "Genesis of the New England Churches," chapters v and vii. The allusion, on page 164, to "the Martyrs under Queen Elizabeth," is explained in chapters viii and ix of the same work.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT NEW HAVEN, NOV. 15, 1876.

BEFORE THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF CONNECTICUT.

BY REV. MYRON N. MORRIS.

At a meeting of the General Conference at Norwich, Nov. 9, 1875, the Standing Committee recommended, in relation to the national Centennial, among other things,—

"That at the General Conference of 1876, two historical discourses be delivered, on successive evenings, referring, in part at least, to the relations of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut to the civil government, and to popular education and social reforms. One of these discourses to cover the period preceding the Declaration of Independence; the other, the period subsequent to that event;—and that the appointments for these services be made by ballot during the meeting of this Conference."

In accordance with this recommendation, Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., was chosen to deliver the first of the centennial discourses, and Rev. Myron N. Morris to deliver the second.

The Ecclesiastical system, and the system of civil government which our fathers adopted, were the natural outgrowth of the deep sentiments of their hearts. They thoroughly believed that God was the supreme Ruler of men, that he was the source of all rightful authority among men, and that civil government, ordained of him, derived its just powers from his sanction.

They believed that every individual was personally responsible to God, and consequently had an inalienable right to worship and serve him according to his own convictions of duty.

They held that in the formation of churches, the conferring of good upon individuals was sought, and not upon the organizations themselves as an end, and that all church authority was vested in the brotherhood, to be exercised, with their consent, by the officers appointed by themselves.

They recognized also, in a general way, the universal brotherhood of man, the fact that Christ died for all men, and commanded his disciples to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.

In the application of these principles, they were influenced more or less by the ideas that prevailed in the age in which they lived.

Our fathers, holding such ideas, naturally adopted a civil government that was in accordance with them. So that their ecclesiastical and their civil polity, having taken form from the same ideas, were closely related to each other, almost blended in their design and sphere of action. The ministers were regarded as sustaining a *quasi* official relation to the divinely sanctioned government, and the civil rulers, knowing that religion was essential to the welfare of society, considered it their proper function to exercise a care over the churches. The civil authority convened councils to settle difficulties in the churches, and the assembled ministers consulted and gave counsel as to the best methods of managing the affairs of state.

One hundred years ago, most of the people of Connecticut were Congregationalists, and this was the leading denomination in the country. In 1774, the inhabitants belonging to the Colony were 198,010, of whom 6,562 were colored. Deducting 1,922 living in Westmoreland, Penn., then claimed as belonging to Connecticut, we have 196,088 within the present limits of the State. There were one hundred and eighty-eight Congregational churches, not including the Separate, or Strict Congregational churches. According to an

estimate made in 1774, by the Rev. Elizur Goodrich of Durham, about one to thirteen in the colony were Episcopalians. There were a few Baptist churches, but the first Methodist church was not formed till 1789.

In those days, more exclusively than now, the meeting-house was the center of intellectual culture and general information. In all the country there was not a single daily newspaper, and but few weeklies, and not more than seventy-five post-offices. By a recent mail arrangement (made in 1774) a Bostonian could write to Philadelphia and receive an answer in three weeks, the year round, whereas formerly, in winter, it had required six weeks. In the scarcity of books and periodical literature, and the absence of scientific and literary lectures, the people gathered at the sanctuary, to look upon each other's faces, talk over important matters, and to be instructed in things pertaining to this life, and that which is to come, by the minister, who, almost without exception, was a man of liberal culture, wide intelligence, and high authority in all matters of opinion and practice.

In the struggle for independence, therefore, in which the colonies were then engaged, the Congregational ministers of Connecticut were prominent. With them it was a matter of more than patriotic interest,—it was a sacred cause. The grand object for which hardships, and perils, and losses had been endured in settling these shores and maintaining the settlements,—the establishment of civil and religious liberty, the setting up of the kingdom of Christ in this land, was at stake.

See then, in 1765, when the people of Connecticut seemed too inattentive to the dangers which were likely to follow the Stamp Act, and the magistrates were almost inclined to yield obedience, the Rev. Stephen Johnson of Lyme, publishing vigorous essays to arouse them to a sense of their danger. Gordon says: "The Congregational ministers saw further into the designs of the British Administration, and by their publications and conversations increased and strengthened the opposition." See the Rev. Levi Hart of Preston, a man full of the spirit of missions in that early period as well as

of patriotism, in 1774, preaching "on liberty to the Corporation of Freemen in Farmington," taking occasion also to strike a blow at the African slave-trade. And the same year, the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin of Danbury, also full of missionary zeal, publishing an address to arouse the people in the western part of the Colony, and preaching on occasions to the same end. See the Rev. Jeremiah Day of New Preston relinquishing a part of his small salary, "being willing," as he says, "to contribute my proportion towards the public expenses, and to encourage the glorious cause in which we are engaged." Hear the Rev. Elizur Goodrich of Durham, with impassioned eloquence, urging the sacrifice of property and life as a most imperative religious duty. And the Rev. Judah Champion of Litchfield, in his Election sermon, May, 1776, from Gal. 5 : 1—"Methinks we may this day well-nigh see the ghosts of our departed progenitors; and hear those blessed worthies, in solemn accents, through the vast of heaven, addressing us, saying, 'Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.' At the inestimable price of his blood, the glorious Redeemer purchased these blessings for his people. Through rivers of blood, and great tribulation, we have been made the instruments of handing these down to you. * * Nor can you wantonly throw them away without incurring Jehovah's most tremendous indignation and curse. God, angels, and saints in glory all looking on. * * Trust in God, and firmly defy every danger. Let the blood of Christ animate you. * * Heaven demands your most vigorous exertions."

Such was the spirit of the Congregational ministers throughout the Colony. Pastors in large numbers went into the army and served as chaplains, or in other capacities, for longer or shorter periods.

And the people were ready to respond. From long practice in the war with the French and Indians, they had become very efficient in military service. In securing the independence of the colonies, Connecticut did her full share. She furnished 31,959 regular soldiers, nearly one-sixth of the

whole population,* and expended over twenty millions of dollars, not including what was paid by towns and individuals; of which, however, the general government refunded something less than two and a half millions. No colony was more influential in the general government than Connecticut, and none furnished an executive officer more relied on by Washington in great emergencies than her own governor, Jonathan Trumbull.

Such, in the early years of our national existence, was the practical relation of the Congregational ministers and churches of Connecticut to the civil government.

These churches constituted the "standing order" in the State, were recognized and supported by law, and their influence in civil affairs was all-controlling.

Towards the close of the century, when churches of other denominations began to multiply, and in the low state of religion, infidelity and irreligion became more bold and widespread, there arose a strong opposition to the dominant party. The feeling against the Congregational ministers was bitter. It was claimed that they designated the men to fill the offices, that those outside of the standing order were excluded from office, and that even before the courts they had not an equal chance for justice. The controversy waxed more and more fierce, until the different interests in the opposition became united in what was called the Toleration Party, which, in 1817, carried the election. The next year a constitution was adopted, which placed all the churches alike upon the voluntary principle for support.

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* This does not include a large number in the service who remained at home to defend our own towns.

"The male population of the Colony, in 1775, from sixteen to fifty years of age, were subject to military duty, and may be estimated, from a careful examination of the census of 1774, to amount to about twenty-six thousand persons. Of these there were nearly one thousand beyond the Delaware, and near two thousand disaffected persons, so that the whole military force in the compact settled part of the colony, that could be relied on for its defense, did not much exceed twenty-three thousand men." (Connecticut in the War of the Revolution, by Royal R. Hinman, p. 12.)

Can it be possible that Connecticut furnished for the war a greater number than all the male inhabitants from sixteen to fifty years of age?

This was lamented by many as destructive of the very foundations of religion, and as opening wide the flood-gates of iniquity. Dr. Lyman Beecher afterwards said, "The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell *for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut.* It cut the churches loose from dependence on State support. It threw them wholly on their own resources and on God." The prosperity of the churches and their power for good have been vastly increased.

The influence of the Congregational churches, as of those of other denominations, on the civil government is now indirect. They teach what they believe to be the whole range of Christian duty. They endeavor to inspire men with a sense of justice, reverence for law, a regard for the rights of individuals, and a feeling of responsibility to God for all human actions, and to lead them to purity of heart and life in the sight of God. They aim to secure a right government by making the people right.

And if, under the doctrine of equal political rights and universal suffrage, Roman Catholics, Pagans, Mohammedans, Jews, and Infidels, should come to be a majority, there would still be the mighty Christian influence of these churches to uphold the right. And any political demagogue who should desire to carry his selfish ends by appeals to the ignorance or passions, or prejudices of the people, or by any corrupt methods, would have little success among such people as are trained under the influence of the Congregational churches of Connecticut.

Whether our civil government is, or ought to be a *Christian* government in form or not, the influence of the churches ought to make it the government of a Christian people.

To provide for the education of the children has ever been regarded by our churches as of prime importance. To secure the safety of our free institutions, it is recognized as the duty of the State to see that all the children are sufficiently educated to enable them to act as intelligent citizens. Precisely

how far the State should carry this education is still an open question. And whether, with such varied religious sentiments among the people, it should attempt more than a strictly secular education, is one of the difficult problems yet to be solved. But a high degree of moral culture, and not unfavorable to religion, may be secured in purely secular schools.

Wherever Congregational churches have been planted and have taken root, there public schools have never failed to spring up and flourish. Sectarian schools for primary education have not been in favor with the people of our congregations.

But the influence of our churches in the line of popular education is first and most powerfully felt in our Christian homes. Here, in the tender care and sympathy and prayers of a mother's love, in the firm but gentle guidance of a father's hand, in the daily worship, in the commingling of joys and sorrows, in the examples of wisdom and patience, and the needed counsels and self-denials of life, in an atmosphere all-pervading and high-charged with love and intelligence, work silently and ceaselessly those powerful forces that bring out the blessed results of Christian nurture. In our Christian families, in connection with our schools and churches, are formed those traits which characterize the people of New England, and especially of Connecticut, wherever they go. The world will never know how much it owes to the New England mothers for training the noble men and women who have been benefactors to the race.

Turning now to the spiritual condition of the churches, we find that from the time of the great revival, about 1740, to near the end of the century, there was a continual decline. For many years the people were occupied with the burdens and vexations of the French and Indian war. Soon after commenced the troubles with England which led to the Revolution, and it was nearly eighteen years before peace was declared. During all this period little could be thought of but the political agitations and the terrible scenes and fearful uncertainties of the protracted conflict. The churches and all the

people felt the demoralizing effects of the war, for, however necessary or just, war is always demoralizing. French infidelity became fashionable, especially among people of culture and influence. Intemperance, licentiousness, and profanity, were common, and the people, harassed by debts and heavy taxation, and eager to avail themselves of the commercial advantages that followed the war, gave little heed to the interests of the soul.

Meanwhile, death had made inroads upon the churches, until there were but few members, and these mostly advanced in age.

Another prominent cause of the religious decline was the practice of receiving members upon the half-way covenant. The effect of this was to bring into the churches numbers who would rest contented in that half-way attitude, short of the renewal of their hearts by the Holy Spirit. A further effect was to lower the standard of admission, so that whether it was believed that unrenewed persons might become members of the church, and come to the communion as a converting ordinance, or not, many churches fell into the loose practice of receiving members without inquiry respecting their religious experience. Some pastors deemed such inquiry improper. Thus it happened that of the few aged members of the churches, a portion, probably, knew nothing of a saving change. And possibly some of the ministers were in the same condition. Is it strange that in such circumstances spiritual religion should almost die out?

And yet it did not die out. During all that dark period, there was probably not a spot on earth where spiritual religion was more alive than in the Congregational churches of Connecticut.

The theological controversies in these churches during the period we are considering, deserve notice here. And I refer to them, not to give even an outline of the discussions, but as illustrating, first, the educational effect of such discussions, awakening thought, and making theologians of all the people; secondly, the fact that good men, equally intelligent and loyal to God and his truth, will inevitably differ in relation to

some points of doctrine; and thirdly, the tendency in these good men to magnify the differences, and to denounce each other as teaching dangerous error, and therefore being dangerous men.

The religious indifference that prevailed in the early part of the last century, the general feeling that men could do nothing but use the means of grace and wait for God to convert them, demanded a fresh examination and re-statement of theological truth in connection with the principles of sound philosophy. Such examination and re-statement were made by Jonathan Edwards; and thus arose what was called the Edwardean Theology, or New Divinity, or, as termed in after years, New England Theology. Some of the leading preachers of the New Divinity were President Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, Joseph Bellamy, Stephen West, John Smalley, Nathaniel Emmons, Samuel Spring, Levi Hart, Jonathan Edwards the younger, Nathan Strong, and Timothy Dwight, all, except Dr. Spring, Connecticut men, either by birth or by having exercised some portion of their ministry in the State. Hopkins wrought out a system of divinity, introducing some peculiarities of his own. Emmons was an advocate of the "Exercise Scheme," in opposition to Asa Burton, also raised up in Connecticut, a leading advocate of the "Taste Scheme."

The New Divinity men did not generally adopt all the peculiarities of Hopkins or Emmons, yet they were often indiscriminately called Hopkinsians. They were Calvinistic in doctrine, earnest men, friends of revivals, and characterized by the distinctness and pungency of their preaching, making prominent the Divine sovereignty, and the free-agency of sinful man, and pressing men with the duty of immediate repentance; or, as some of them preferred to put it, submission to God. These were the men who stood firmly for spiritual religion, —for the life of Christ in the soul which is born only of the Holy Spirit, in distinction from all kinds of outward observances. Their preaching prepared the way for the revivals that commenced near the close of the century.

As to the number of such ministers, and the prevalence of

their doctrines, Prof. Fisher remarks in the appendix to his History of the Church in Yale College: "The election of Dr. Dwight to the Presidency of Yale College, marked the triumph in New England of the Edwardean theology. According to Dr. Hopkins, there were, in 1756, 'not more than four or five who espoused the sentiments which have since been called *Edwardean* or *New Divinity;* and since, after some improvement was made upon them, *Hopkintonian* or *Hopkinsian* sentiments.' (*Park's Life of Hopkins*, p. 23.) In 1773, they had increased to forty or fifty. In 1777, under date of Nov. 7, we find the following passage in Dr. Stiles' diary: 'Rev. Mr. Edwards of New Haven, tells me there are three parties in Connecticut all pleased with my election, viz: Arminians, who, he said were a small party; the New Divinity gentlemen, (of whom he said he was called one,) who were larger, he said, *but still small*, and the main body of the ministers, which, he said, were Calvinistic.' In a letter written in 1796, Hopkins informs us that among the advocates of the New Divinity, were included 'more than one hundred in the ministry.'"

The New Divinity was substantially that which is found in Dwight's System of Theology, and, if I do not mistake, it came to be generally held by the Congregational churches of New England. But something in it created a wide-spread alarm among most excellent men in certain quarters. In 1816, the Synod of Philadelphia published a circular letter, in which they say: "It appears that all the Presbyteries are more than commonly alive to the importance of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, and of resisting the introduction of Arian, Socinian, Arminian, and Hopkinsian heresies, which are some of the means by which the enemy of souls would, if possible, deceive the very elect." In the same letter they say: "May the time never come in which our *Ecclesiastical Courts* shall determine that Hopkinsianism and the doctrines of our confession of faith are the same thing."

What was this dangerous Hopkinsianism? Who were the men that were spreading it to the destruction of souls? Hop-

kins had passed away years before. Emmons was still living, past the age of threescore and ten. True, he denied the doctrine of Imputation, and held that men became sinners by sinning; but was Emmons, on the whole, a perverter, or a promoter of gospel truth? Dr. Samuel Spring was living, also past seventy, but did he preach dangerous doctrine? Dr. Woods, of Andover, was a Hopkinsian; was it important to warn the churches against him, or the doctrines which he taught? The letter from which I have quoted seems calculated to bring suspicion upon New England ministers generally. Would such a result have served the interests of Christ's kingdom?

Intelligent men, equally devoted to the service of Christ and solicitous for the salvation of souls, entirely agreed in the essential doctrines of the gospel, and alike earnest to "contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," will and *must* differ about many speculative points pertaining to the doctrines which they hold. Some of these points may be of exceeding importance, for all truth is precious. Let them discuss these subjects as earnestly as they please, and each contend for his own views, but let them be equally careful of the reputation of each other as brethren beloved, and ministers of the Lord Jesus.

I should apply the same remarks to the more recent controversy between the Old and New School theologians. I am unable to understand why the so-called speculations of the New Haven divines were not in the same spirit and of the same general character with those of Edwards, and Hopkins, and Emmons; and with equal sincerity, no doubt, did their opponents contend that errors were involved that were dangerous to the souls of men.

But the awakening and educating effect of these discussions was powerful. Some of us can remember with what intense interest every sermon was listened to; with what animation the points of it were discussed in the Bible-class, in religious meetings, in the social circle, and in the family. The Bible was studied as though life and death depended on ascertaining precisely what it teaches. Men, women, and

children were engaged in the earnest study of the profoundest mysteries of revelation and of the human mind.

But are not these speculative errors really dangerous, foreshadowing a lapse into rank heresy? Did not Unitarianism begin in this way? All error is to be avoided. But good men, lovers of God, and of evangelical doctrine, should stand together in charity and confidence, assured that the speculations of such men can never lead far from essential truth, but will rather discover truth and expose error, and that the errors they hold will, with the men themselves, vanish away.

Unitarianism in Eastern Massachusetts, if I rightly understand it, had its origin, not in this way, but in a feeling of opposition to the revival. This was intensified by the extravagancies, the self-righteous and denunciatory spirit and misguided zeal of some of the promoters of the work, and developed at length into a settled hatred of revival measures and revival preaching. The ministers and churches in Boston and vicinity, favorably situated for frequent intercourse, encouraged in each other a distaste for those doctrines most commonly presented with a view to the conversion of sinners. They did not oppose these doctrines in preaching or discussion, but passed them over in silence, except in the way of sneering allusion. From facility of intercourse with England, they were strengthened in their views from that quarter. And thus Unitarianism became established in sentiment before its friends were ready to avow it.

Some men there were, like Dr. Channing, whose pure spiritual lives were a beautiful illustration of the spirit of the gospel. But the tendency of the system was the other way.

The same causes existed in Connecticut, but Calvinistic doctrines were more deeply rooted in the minds of the people. As the people were more scattered, the opposition was less concentrated. And those who, had they lived in Boston, might have become Unitarians, more easily in Connecticut became connected with other denominations. The attempt in Connecticut to restrain the New Light preachers and their measures by legislation, had been less potent to suppress the spiritual life and energy of the churches, than the refined ridicule and contempt employed in Massachusetts.

The Consociation of the churches, under the Saybrook Platform, which was a compromise between the Presbyterian and Congregational elements, may be thought by some to have preserved our churches from lapsing into error. But this, in my view, is a mistake, except perhaps in a few cases. The power of Consociation in Eastern Massachusetts, would have been used in support of Unitarianism.*

The safeguard of our churches against a departure from the faith is not to be found in a common creed, as a standard, nor in a strong government with authority over the churches, but in a faithful ministry, and the spirit of Christ in the hearts of the members.

The assaults of infidelity upon the Bible, have entirely changed ground within a few years. But the friends of revealed truth have no occasion for alarm from the results of scientific investigation. For beyond all question, the more fully we come to understand God's "book of nature," and his "book of grace," the more clearly we shall see that they are in perfect accord.

After the long season of spiritual declension, there commenced, near the close of the last century, a series of revivals that turned the tide of infidelity and wickedness, and saved the churches from utter desolation. A few of the churches had been refreshed about 1784; a larger number, about 1797. But in 1799 occurred that remarkable awakening which spread over a considerable part of New England, and into other portions of the country. Christians were quickened, and thousands of the careless awakened and gathered into the churches. Such instructions were given that most of the evils connected with the revival sixty years previous were avoided. The religious aspect of Yale College was entirely changed. Under the preaching of President

* The council of the consociation would be likely to represent the views of the constituent churches; and so long as these, or a majority of them, were sound in the faith, the power of consociation might be used to exclude heretical pastors,—but when the churches themselves have lapsed, it would be exercised in furtherance of their own errors.

Dwight, the infidel philosophy had ceased to be the boast of the students. "Not long before the revival of 1802," according to Dr. Baird, "there were only four members of the church among the undergraduates." In the course of that revival, as stated by the late Dr. Porter of Farmington, "of two hundred and thirty in college about one-third were hopefully converted." Since that time a large proportion of the students have been professors of religion.

These precious seasons of refreshing have been of frequent occurrence to the present time, and have been a principal source of increase in strength and numbers to the churches.

Respecting the best methods of promoting revivals, there have been differences of opinion. The preaching of certain doctrines have been wonderfully blessed to this end;—is this sure always to produce the same results? Protracted meetings have been attended with special manifestations of the Holy Spirit's presence and power;—will they always prove equally effective? There was considerable discussion respecting "New Measures," in the days of Nettleton and Finney. Both of those men were messengers of salvation to multitudes of souls; but will the coming of such men, or the adoption of their measures, in all circumstances, be productive of a work of grace? Evangelists have often been employed with the happiest results. But a sad day will it be for the churches, when they come to rely so far on any special agencies from without, as to have little faith in what they themselves can accomplish, by the blessing of God, under the guidance of watchful and earnest pastors. Yet they need not be confined to old methods that have ceased to be effective. The servants of Christ have the same liberty as the children of this world, in view of all the circumstances, and in the light of experience, wisely to adapt their methods to the work to be accomplished.

Within the last fifty or seventy-five years, there has been a noticeable change in the general type of religious experience, especially in the exercises attending conversion. Formerly awakened sinners had a deeper sense of the wickedness of their own hearts, and were filled with distress at the

thought of being left to perish in their sins. And this continued sometimes for weeks and months. And when relief came, it was attributed to the sovereign grace of God; Christians often spoke of their vileness in the sight of a holy God. Abundant examples of this are found in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. Now, as a general statement, there is very little manifestation of alarm, little evidence of deep conviction of sin. Converts do not appear to feel as "brands plucked from the burning," nor always as "sinners saved by grace," but rather as having been persuaded to consecrate themselves to a chosen Saviour.

The change may in part be accounted for by the difference in the preaching. The truth is presented now as it was in former times, but different truths are put in the foreground. Then, the justice of God, the strict requirements of his law, and the eternal punishment of impenitent transgressors were made very prominent, and awakened sinners felt that they were in the hands of an angry God, who alone could grant them deliverance, and that whether he would deliver them was an awful uncertainty. Christ was not presented until the "law-work" had prepared the way. Now, the divine sovereignty and justice, the obdurate sinfulness of the human heart, the certainty of everlasting punishment to the finally impenitent, are less dwelt upon, and the love of God in Christ is the grand theme. His tender pity for the sufferings of men, and his yearning desire for their happiness, are sometimes so presented as to make the impression that there is little occasion for alarm.

May it not be that the state of the public mind is such as to demand, as it does at different periods, a re-adjustment of the truths made relatively prominent in the dispensation of the word?

The general instruction of children in relation to the Saviour's love, and his willingness to receive them as disciples, undoubtedly has its influence,—and a happy one it is,—on the phase of religious experience to which I have referred.

In the organized charities that have become so numerous,

the Congregational churches of Connecticut have taken a leading part.

The missionary spirit has been alive from the first. Even during that dark period, it was burning in the hearts of some of the ministers, like Hart of Preston, and Baldwin of Danbury. And movements were made before and after the Revolution in some of the local associations, and more effectively by the General Association, as early as 1792, to send missionaries into the new settlements. In 1798, the General Association was organized into the "Missionary Society of Connecticut," whose objects were "to Christianize the heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements of the United States." The Rev. David Bacon, sent out in 1800, was its first missionary to the heathen.

The history and statistics of the missionary work are accessible to all, and we need not here dwell upon them. But I wish we could see the workings and influence of this society in its early years,—its first missionaries going into Vermont, and Northern New York, along the Mohawk Valley, and beyond, searching out and encouraging such Christian families as they might find, holding the first religious meetings ever known in those regions;—such men as the Rev. Joseph Badger, who had done hard service in the war, served as pastor, and was now, amid many discouragements, laying the foundations of churches on the Western Reserve,—the Rev. David Bacon, before Utica was even a village, or Rochester, or Buffalo, with knapsack and staff pushing his toilsome way alone through the wilderness, to ascertain the condition of the Indian tribes around the great lakes, and his succeeding missionary labors and journeys with his young wife and infant children, amid perils and self-denials from which most of us would shrink;—such men as Samuel J. Mills, Jr., who explored the valley of the Mississippi when there was not a Congregational or Presbyterian minister in the whole State of Illinois, if in all that valley,—who on another tour crossed over and preached in St. Louis the first Protestant sermon ever preached west of the river;—and Salmon Giddings, who

gathered the first church in St. Louis, and became an apostle to all that region ;—such men as that apostolic band from New Haven, who, in a moral and religious sense, almost transplanted Connecticut, with her Yale College, upon the soil of Illinois. These, and such as these, were the real heroes of the age, the true successors of the apostles. They were trained under those strong doctrines which the fathers had so earnestly discussed. They felt that Christ was the rightful Lord of this revolted world, that he had called them into his kingdom, and ordained them that they should go and set up his banners in all this expanding country. They went forth, and lo ! the wilderness and the solitary place have rejoiced and blossomed as the rose. Not only New York and Ohio, but all the western and northwestern States, with their growing churches, their schools and colleges, and all the evangelizing and civilizing forces of Christianity in operation, are the fruit of just these missionary undertakings. Connecticut has not wrought all this, but her spirit and energies have been infused into it. Without this Home Missionary work, many of those strong churches and Christian institutions at the West might have had no existence ; those beautiful States and Territories might have been a moral waste, and even our national government, in its late struggle, might have been overthrown.

It may seem strange that the Congregationalists, who ranked first among the denominations in the country a hundred years ago, should now, if they have been so efficient in Home Missions, rank only seventh. It should be remembered that they have not prosecuted the work of missions in a denominational spirit. They have not sought to extend their own denomination, but the kingdom of Christ. With the utmost catholicity of feeling they have united with others in the missionary work, content if only Christian churches could be established and maintained, and the destitute have the means of grace supplied. Under the plan of union between the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Congregational churches furnished the larger proportion of funds for the

work, while the larger proportion of churches gathered and supported were Presbyterian. It was not the Congregationalists, however, that withdrew from the union.

The light of experience clearly shows us that if there are peculiar excellences in the Ecclesiastical system which we have received from our fathers, we should appreciate those excellences, and maintain the system that contains them, and that while we should be ready to coöperate with others in such works as call for such coöperation, still we should give our main strength to the energetic prosecution of those enterprises which Providence has thrown upon our own hands, or clearly calls us to undertake.

To the multiplication of churches of other denominations in Connecticut, various causes have contributed. Among these was a prejudice against the Congregational churches as the established order, and a dissatisfaction with the support given them by the State. A certain coldness and formality in worship probably repelled many who preferred more animation and a warmer expression of sympathy and fellowship. The repressive hand of the ministers on the liberty of the people in religious meetings had its influence. Some have been drawn away by their peculiar doctrinal views, but more, probably, by social affinities and influences. The differences between the evangelical denominations in Connecticut are less marked than formerly, and a more fraternal spirit prevails among them.

In the work of Foreign Missions our churches have not been behind. The very germinating idea of the American Board has been traced to the mother of Samuel J. Mills, in Torringford, telling him that she had devoted him to the service of God as a missionary. Connecticut has sent forth a goodly number of noble men and women to carry the gospel to far distant lands, and the blessing has returned many fold upon ourselves.

A hundred years ago, slavery existed in Connecticut as in the other States. But there was very early manifested, in the Congregational churches, a strong opposition to it. As early as 1773 and 1774, the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin and the Rev.

Jonathan Edwards were publishing essays against it; other ministers, in their sermons, showed its injustice, and there was soon formed a society for its abolition. Although the anti-slavery movement, as well as that against intemperance, was, in many cases, unhappily complicated with other irrelevant objects, yet so far as conducted in a Christian manner, it enlisted the sympathies and energies of a large proportion of our people.

The cause of temperance has found steady and strong support in most of our churches. The echoes of Dr. Lyman Beecher, and those of Dr. Hewitt, have not yet died away; and notwithstanding the fearful amount of inebriety still witnessed, there has been wrought an entire change in the drinking habits of at least the church-going part of the community. Intoxicating drinks are no longer provided for ministerial gatherings, or ordinations, or funerals, and in a majority of the families belonging to our congregations are not in common use, nor considered necessary in the way of hospitality.

Connecticut is a small State, and many of the churches on her hills, and away from her streams and railroads, have become weak; but her sons and daughters, trained in these churches, imbued with the sentiments and settled in the principles that have made Connecticut what she is, have gone forth to lay the foundations of other states, to be pillars in other churches, and so have caused the moral and religious power of our churches to be felt far and wide. Count up, in almost any of our secluded parishes, the men and women who have been raised up in it, and have gone from it; learn their history, and you will gain some idea of what our churches have done in this way to bless the world. These parishes, seed-beds from which to stock the cities and the great West, must not fail of receiving the best culture.

The collegiate school founded by those few Congregational pastors, has grown to be a national institution,—and what in Connecticut, of this nature, does not become national?—and with its departments of philosophy and the arts, of law, and medicine, and theology, is sending out annually a little army

of thoroughly trained young men, to mold the public sentiment and manners, to fill the offices of Church and State, to be legislators and judges, presidents and professors, throughout the land and the world.

We have our two theological seminaries, furnishing men to be pastors, or missionaries, or to fill any station where the Lord has need of them. And though we have no female college, we have schools of great excellence for the higher education of young ladies.

If we could obtain accurate statistics of the churches from 1776 to 1800, I am sure we should have no occasion to inquire why "the former days were better than these." From the number of members of several churches in some part of that period, obtained from half-century sermons, church manuals, and other sources, I believe the members of the Congregational churches of Connecticut at the present time are in greater proportion to the population than in that former period. And then, besides several Presbyterian churches, there is the large increase in the Episcopal church, and in the Baptist churches, and the whole membership in the Methodist churches, which have all come into being within the century. Including the members of all the evangelical churches in the State, the proportion to the population must have largely increased. The Episcopalians have their Trinity College and Divinity School, and the Methodists their Wesleyan University, each doing good service.

In the whole country, as stated by Prof. Diman, "while the population has multiplied eleven fold, the churches have multiplied nearly thirty-seven fold." A gentleman, on whom I rely as authority, informs me that a few years ago he made an investigation, with this general result: that in the last quarter of the last century, the number of church members in the United States was as one to eighteen of the population, and he thinks that now it will not vary much from one to seven.

There can be little doubt that the standard of piety in the churches, and of morals in society, is higher than it was a century ago. There is, indeed, more open desecration of the

Sabbath,—which is to be lamented,—but perhaps as good use of the day is made by active Christians. Pastorates are shorter, but this in part may be the result of things not altogether evil. Ministers have less of authority, but more of reasonable influence, and are regarded rather with affection than fear. Christian activity is altogether in advance. One hundred years ago there was not a Bible society, nor tract society, nor missionary society, nor temperance society in all the land. The organized charities of the present day were unknown. The era of prayer-meetings, and Sabbath-schools, and Young Men's Christian Associations, and conventions of Christian workers, and the employment of woman's mighty influence in the ministries of the church, had not begun. The great world of paganism and superstition was practically closed to Christian benevolence.

What a marvelous change has God wrought? Now, the moral condition of the world is explored. There is access to every nation. Scores of missionary societies, and associations for every Christian object, are organized and in working order. Missionaries are abroad, churches have sprung up in heathen lands, and native converts are preaching the gospel to their benighted countrymen. The channels of benevolence are all open, and every servant of Christ can send up his prayers to Heaven, and his contributions to swell the streams of evangelizing influence. At home, in Sabbath-schools, and in the various agencies for the spread of the gospel, and the conversion of souls, there is work for all who are willing to do it, both men and women. And the vastly increased power of the religious press, and to a great extent of the secular also, is exerted in favor of truth and righteousness.

God has brought this nation, which he established, safely through the first century of its existence, having delivered it from the greatest perils. He has made it a great nation—great in resources, great in the general intelligence of the people, in their inventive and industrial achievements, and in their power to conceive and execute the grandest enterprises.

And he has given to us the treasures of his word, and opened before us the nations of the earth, that we may impart to them the riches we have so largely and freely received.

And now, by his declared purpose to make the reign of his Son glorious and universal among men, by the quickening of his people into such general activity, and permitting them to witness so much of his mighty working through their efforts, by the multiplied agencies and instrumentalities by which his work may be accomplished, and by all he has shown us of his faithfulness in the history of our own churches, he calls us to renewed faith, and consecration, and energy. Let there be a true and intelligent consecration to Christ of life, and property, and talents, in all the ministers and members of our churches; let our own field be made and kept like "the garden of the Lord;" let all parts of our land be thoroughly evangelized, and let the foreign work be vigorously prosecuted,—in a word, let Christ's service be the first aim in the working of our mighty energies, and let the same spirit prevail throughout Christendom,—and this second century of our nation's life, which has opened so auspiciously, may witness the song of triumph, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."

THE GROWTH OF A CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

An Address delivered in the Center Church, New Haven, before the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Connecticut, Thursday evening, November 16, 1876.

BY JOSEPH ANDERSON.

[The following address is laid before the readers of this volume in the precise form in which it was delivered. It was prepared without any reference to publication, and hardly deserved admission to these pages without being re-written and enlarged. After one or two futile attempts at reconstructing it, I concluded that I must either develop it into an extended essay, or let it stand as originally written. Finding the former course impracticable, I have published it without alteration, adding merely a few references in foot-notes. Although the title is expressed in the most general terms, being conformed to the wording of the topic as assigned beforehand, my field of view in the address was New England, and, for the most part, Connecticut only.—J. A.]

In the city of New York, during the present week, and in fact at this very hour, an auction-sale is taking place, which will result in breaking up and scattering to all quarters of the land the large and costly library of an industrious collector of books.[1] In the elegantly printed Catalogue, which embraces a list of several thousand volumes,[2] I find the following title, numbered 514, under the name of John Davenport:

[1] The library referred to was that of Mr. William Menzies of New York. The sale took place at the sale-rooms of Messrs. George A. Leavitt & Co., on Monday, November 13, and following days.

[2] "Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, and Engravings belonging to William Menzies of New York. Prepared by Joseph Sabin. New York: 1875." Pp. xix, 473.

"A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation whose Design is Religion. Written many years since, by that Reverend and Worthy Minister of the Gospel, John Cotton, B. D., and now Published by some Undertakers of a new Plantation for General Direction and Information. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. MDCLXIII."

I find also the following title, numbered 452:

"A Confession of Faith Owned and Consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut in New England, Assembled by Delegation at Say-Brook, September 9th, 1708. New London in N. E. Printed by Thomas Short. 1710."

These volumes—the latter numbering 116 small pages, the former numbering only 24—are bound (so the Catalogue informs us) in Levant morocco, at an expense which would have surprised and grieved the good men who wrote them, and at yesterday's sale brought prices which any one but a book-collector would consider exorbitant and absurd.[3] How are these things explained? I answer, By the fact that these books are very rare. Davenport's *Discourse* (ascribed by mistake on the title-page to John Cotton) is not only one of the earliest books printed in this country, having been issued thirty years before New York had a printing press, but is so scarce that this is "the only copy known to have been offered for sale in forty years."[4] The *Confession of Faith* is the first book printed in Connecticut, and is "so rare," says the compiler of the Catalogue, "that we are unable to record the public sale of a copy."[5]

From a multitude of similar productions enumerated in this Catalogue—most of them rare, some of them unique copies—I select these two works for obvious reasons as representing the New England literature of the early Colonial period. The works of which that literature is composed, whether treatises, sermons, pamphlets, or poems, are counted

[3] The *Confession* sold for sixty dollars; Davenport's *Discourse* for forty-five dollars.

[4] Mr. J. Sabin, in his preface to the Menzies Catalogue, p. iv.

[5] Catalogue, p. 91.

not by hundreds but by thousands; and although most of them are totally unknown to the modern reader of books, and some so scarce that money can not buy them, they were a genuine product of the age and people which they represent, possessing a real vitality, and exerting a powerful influence upon the times which gave them birth. This early New England literature is not only amazingly extensive, considering all the circumstances of the colonists and their first descendants; it possesses a marked individuality, and embodies an unusual measure of intellectual power. It is a literature almost entirely ecclesiastical and Congregational; a literature representing the seemingly trivial conflicts of a hundred years over the technicalities of church government and the relations of the Church to the State; a literature which, judged by the test of artistic excellence, scarcely deserves the name.[6] Yet what industry was put into it, what thoughtfulness, what diligent research, what stringent logic, what patient, constructive labor, what Puritan enthusiasm, what fervent prayer! Here was a company of noble Englishmen, most of them trained in European universities, practiced in thinking and in putting their thoughts on paper, who had crossed the sea and established homes in the wilderness for the sake of their religious opinions; and they made it their business to testify to their principles not only on the highway and in the pulpit, but also with their pens. Many of them seem to have felt as Arnold of Rugby, when he exclaimed, "I must write a pamphlet or I shall burst!" and not a few there were who could find relief from this inward peril only in a labored treatise or a complete "Body of Divinity." What they produced had their life's blood in it, and this gave it a value which nothing else could have bestowed. A Connecticut scholar, speaking of John Eliot's translation of the Bible into one of the Indian languages—a task actually accomplished in that early time—characterizes

[6] "Writing is not literature unless it gives to the reader a pleasure which arises not only from the things said, but from the way in which they are said; and that pleasure is only given when the words are carefully or curiously or beautifully put together into sentences."—*Primer of English Literature*, by the Rev. Stopford Brooke: p. 6.

it as a "marvelous triumph of scholarship, achieved in the face of difficulties which might well have appeared insurmountable. . . . . It may be doubted if, in the two centuries which have elapsed since the Indian Bible was printed, any translation of the sacred volume has been made from the English to a foreign tongue of more literal accuracy and completeness." [7] He gives the secret of this notable success in Eliot's own words: "Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do anything"; and this, I think, is the explanation of what must otherwise be a strange phenomenon —this development of a New England literature during the early Colonial days.

These Colonial days constitute the first of three periods in the history of the Christian literature of New England. The second is the Revolutionary period, and may be described as theological. Questions of church government were by no means thrust out of sight, but questions of doctrine attracted more and more attention. Davenport and Eliot, Cotton and Roger Williams, Shepard and Hooker and the Mathers—those champions of a Congregational polity—were followed by a school of metaphysicians who put their whole strength into theology. Already in 1726, *A Complete Body of Divinity*, in two hundred and fifty lectures, written by Samuel Willard, of Boston,[8] had been given to the world in a folio of 914 pages; and in 1746, Solomon Williams, of Lebanon, in Connecticut, had issued a treatise on Justification. But the theological era really began with Jonathan Edwards, whose *Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will*, and dissertations concerning *The End for which God created the World* and *The Nature of True Virtue*, stand thus far unsurpassed for intellectual ability in the domain of American theology. This era embraces (among Connecticut men) John Smalley of New Britain, Joseph Bellamy of Bethlehem, Samuel Hop-

[7] Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in the preface (p. 6) to his reprint of Roger Williams' *Key into the Language of America*, "Publications of the Narragansett Club," vol. I. Providence, R. I., 1866.

[8] Samuel Willard died in 1707, so that the publication of his lectures was posthumous.

kins, who was born in Waterbury, Timothy Dwight, and Jonathan Edwards the younger; and, if we pass over into the modern period, we may include Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Horace Bushnell, not to name others who still remain with us. All these have been voluminous and influential writers, and have contributed largely to the Christian literature of America. In the graces of style, some of them (Hopkins and Edwards especially) compare unfavorably even with their Puritan predecessors; but in intellectual acuteness, in logical skill, in tenacious adherence to a theological system and unflinching championship of it with tongue and pen, I know of no group of authors, in America at least, that can be compared with them.

And now, what shall I say of the third, that is, the modern period, as compared with the other two? Looking at its strictly Christian, or rather, its strictly religious literature, how shall we estimate it?

A few mornings since, as I came down Chapel street, I stopped, as a visitor in New Haven should, to look at the statue of Abraham Pierson, first rector of Yale College. I was somewhat taken aback at seeing that bowed head bedecked with a jaunty felt hat—the midnight offering, doubtless, of some devout collegian! I turned away with a strange mixture of feelings; but, having my mind on the theme assigned me for to-night, I said to myself, Why not find in this crowned figure a symbol of the Christian literature of New England in the three periods of its history?—First, the granite pedestal; secondly, the bronze effigy; and thirdly, the fashionable but transitory hat of felt! For, did we not begin with Hooker and Davenport, with Roger Williams and John Eliot? and did we not attain to the heights represented by Edwards and Hopkins and Emmons? and have we not, after all this, descended to the platitudes of tract societies, to the milk-and-water of religious fiction, and to the wearisome jingle of Sunday-school hymns?

But, after all, we cannot with justice speak thus disparagingly of the Christian literature of the modern period, except

as we give a very narrow definition to the word Christian. It is true that in proportion to the population of the country, the intelligence of the people, and the strength of the churches, there is less literary activity in strictly ecclesiastical fields than there was in our primitive times; it is true there is far less intellectual energy infused into systematic theology, and subjects allied to it; yet the Christian literature of to-day, as a whole, exhibits a decided advance upon that which preceded it. The increase in the amount of material is the least important part of the change which has taken place. There has been, along with this, a marked improvement in æsthetic quality, and an immense growth in catholicity and practical usefulness. In our first age, and until the Revolution, the New England people were engrossed with the affairs of religion. The Church was the pivot upon which everything turned. The thoughts of men ran in the well-worn grooves marked out for them by their spiritual teachers; their speech and life were imbued with ecclesiasticism, and, apart from an occasional combat in theology, their life moved on very quietly.[9] For good or for ill, that time has gone by. Our communities have something to think of besides the "half-way covenant" and the doctrine of election. They must attend to their manufactures and their politics, to their banks and their railroads, to their hospitals and seminaries and missions, to art and science, to the fashions and the jails. And this increase in the breadth and variety of our social life reveals itself perforce in our literature.

It has been well remarked by President Porter, in his collection of papers entitled *Books and Reading*, that in order to deserve a place in Christian literature, "a work need not be religious either in matter or in form; it need neither avow

[9] "Adventures of all kinds must be very rare in a country perfectly quiet and orderly in its state of society. In a series of journeys sufficiently extensive to have carried me through two-thirds of the distance round the globe, I have not met with one. Nearly every man whom I have seen was calmly pursuing the sober business of peaceful life; and the history of my excursion was literally confined to the breakfast, dinner, and supper of the day." Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York*, vol. I, p. x. This was so late as 1796.

Christian doctrines nor express Christian feelings ;" if it be only controlled and pervaded by those ethical faiths and emotions that are distinctively Christian, and by a recognition of Christ as the object of trust and reverence, that is sufficient to show where it belongs.[10] It is unquestionably right to enlarge our conception of Christian literature in accordance with this standard of measurement ; and as soon as we have done so, how grand appears the literary development which has taken place in this modern age, how genuine and vigorous our literary life ! We feel that President Dwight was contributing to Christian literature alike in publishing his *Theology* and in composing his *Travels ;* that Bushnell was doing the same, alike in his *Nature and the Supernatural,* and in his address on *The Age of Homespun ;* and that Dr. Woolsey is doing the same, alike when he publishes *The Religion of the Present and of the Future,* and when he lays before the world his *Introduction to the Study of International Law.* Our Christianity to-day will not allow itself to be limited, and our Christian literature must partake of the same breadth and versatility.

When the father of Rector Pierson, pastor of the church in Branford, prepared his Indian Catechism (published in 1658) for those full-grown babes of the Quinnipiac, in their buckskin and war-paint, this was the kind of meat he set before them : " How do you prove," he asks, " that there is but one true God ?" and he teaches the Red man to answer as follows :

" Because the reason why singular things of the same kind are multiplied is not to be found in the nature of God, for the reason why such like things are multiplied is from the fruitfulness of their causes ; but God hath no cause of his being, but is of himself ; therefore he is one.

" 2. Because singular things of the same kind, when they are multiplied, are differenced among themselves by their singular properties ; but there can not be found another God differenced from this by any such like properties." [11]

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[10] Porter on *Books and Reading,* pp. 114–117.

[11] " Some Helps for the Indians . . . . . Undertaken by Abraham Peirson " : pp. [11], [12]. These answers are referred to by Mr. J. H. Trumbull in the preface to his reprint of Pierson's Catechism, p. 10.

What a sublime indifference to the limits of the savage intellect and the capabilities of aboriginal speech is here! and what a reckless faith in metaphysics! The Christian literature of New England has outgrown the day when anything like this was possible; it exhibits art and skill and a capacity for self-adjustment, and, above all, it has clothed itself in a beautiful utility. See how it extends into every domain of life; see how it grapples with every social and scientific problem; see how it is imbued with the spirit of reform and of progress; see how it covers the wide field of ethics and politics, of parish work and missions, of amusements and labor, of education and art!

Along with this change from the technical and narrow to the broad and practical, from the provincial to the cosmopolitan, in the character of our Christian literature, has come a change in its outward form, revealing the same law of progress. I refer to the change by which it has become so largely *periodical*, becoming thereby all the more wide-spread and popular. In the seventeenth century, an author had no vehicle for his opinions save the pamphlet or the book. But in the year 1704 there came from the press the first newspaper, the *News-Letter* of Boston. The Connecticut *Gazette* was established in 1755; and in 1775 there were in all the Colonies thirty-seven newspapers. In due time the religious world had its periodicals—the *Evangelical Magazine* of Hartford, in 1800; the *Religious Intelligencer* of New Haven, in 1817; the *Christian Spectator*, two years after; the *Christian Sentinel* in 1838; the *New Englander* in 1843; and beyond the limits of Connecticut many others, some of them now defunct, and some still living,—an army of journals and magazines, carrying Christian truth in an endless variety of forms into the homes of the people. Much of this literature is certainly superficial, crude and worthless; but upon the whole it is able, pointed, honest, and helpful to mankind.

Of the multitude of Connecticut people who have visited the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, some, no doubt, must have observed in the department of American education

the "exhibit" of books written by the alumni of Yale College. Shelf above shelf, in the Connecticut division, was filled with their works—the fruit of the flourishing tree planted at the center of this provincial town, so many years ago. The collection is one which does honor to Yale College and to Connecticut. And it suggests these facts, among many: first, that a genuine literature is an exponent of the life of the people—partaking, so to speak, of the flavor of the soil; secondly, that universities and colleges are ever the fountains whence the best literatures flow; and lastly, that a good literature, in a free land like this, is almost unlimited in its scope and in its diffusion, and unmeasured in its beneficent influence.

We are here to-night, at the close of a Conference which has been largely retrospective, to nourish in ourselves the spirit of thankfulness. As we recall our occasions for gratitude, let us not fail to take account of the function of human speech, and the invention of letters and of printing. And let us give thanks for this, that New England men have ever been bold to speak and skillful to write, that the freedom of the press has never been denied to us, and that in all our history those who have sought the companionship which is found in good books—whether for the light which they shed upon the mind, or the consolation which they bestow upon smitten hearts—have not sought it in vain. So may it ever be!

THE INFLUENCE OF NEW ENGLAND IDEAS ON THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. CYRUS NORTHROP.

We have all read of

> "the li t
> Of hero, sage, and martyr,
> Who in the Mayflower's cabin signed
> The first New England charter."

That solemn compact of government signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, Bancroft pronounces "the birth of constitutional liberty." He asserts that "democratic liberty and independent Christian worship at once existed in America as the Pilgrims landed."

We may safely assume, then, that liberty, in State and in Church, or, to use a much-abused term, "local self-government," is a New England idea; and even the most cursory glance at our history, political and ecclesiastical, reveals the fact that this idea has been most steadily cherished and most carefully guarded. In our local town governments, and in our Congregational churches throughout the country, the idea is most happily illustrated. The extent to which this idea has been propagated may be most readily seen by following the lines of New England emigration. Within these lines we find New England ideas triumphant. Outside of these lines other ideas, modified more or less by New England example, seem to prevail. From the older New England States Vermont was settled. Then a New England emigration peopled Western New York. Then from New England and New Englanders in New York in the next generation, Northern Ohio, and to some extent the rest of the State was settled. Then Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas, were successively occupied. And finally, even Calinia, Oregon, and the intervening region received a large emi-

gration of people of New England origin. On the other hand, Indiana was hardly affected by New England emigration, Pennsylvania and Kentucky dividing the honor of forming the character of that State. Lower New York and New Jersey were never controlled by the New England element. But all the vast territory largely peopled by persons of New England origin has been uniformly faithful to the New England idea of democratic liberty; and even in the cities of the older States, where a more recent emigration from Europe has materially changed the character of the population, the essential New England ideas have not yet been dethroned.

A second New England idea is universal education. The early organization of Harvard and Yale, and the establishment of schools in every hamlet where there were children to be taught, furnish most conclusive evidence of the high estimation in which our fathers held the intellectual culture of the young. Though living themselves in the rudest log-houses, they took care to provide comparatively comfortable school-houses, in which their children could be educated. Their school-houses were not such buildings as now adorn our cities and principal towns, nor was the education therein gained such as may now be acquired in even our common schools; but the instruction given was adequate to the wants of the time, and developed noble and intelligent men and women, who were most serviceable to the State and to the Church. Nor was it alone in New England that the power of this education was felt. The boys and girls trained by it became the founders of new commonwealths in the West, and they carried with them everywhere the New England system of common schools. The admirable school system of many of the States of the West and Northwest, and the liberal support given to it, are the fruits of New England ideas transplanted and germinating in a most fertile soil. That the West, for the last half century, has not been as dark, intellectually, as some other parts of our country, is due to the fact that New England and not Virginia molded its institutions and furnished the controlling elements of its civilization.

A third New England idea was that religion consists more in a life of faith and obedience than in a connection with any church organization; that the tie which binds the individual believer to Christ is stronger and more important than the tie which binds him to any given number or any given class of believers as a church. They valued their churches highly, but most of all for the freedom they secured to individual believers, and their exemption from outside influence unauthorized by the Word of God. The church existed for the strengthening and edification of believers, and not the believers for the glory of the church. Hence there resulted great freedom from a narrow and bigoted sectarianism. Hence that readiness shown everywhere and always by Congregationalists to co-operate with Christians of any name in carrying forward the work of Christ without regard to their own denominational preferences. Hence that readiness to join other churches, where a church of their own polity could not be found. Hence that liberality of our great missionary organizations in founding and sustaining churches not Congregational. Hence that noble spirit of charity in which Congregationalists have contributed most bountifully to a great variety of enterprises for the benefit of the world, without the slightest prospect of advantage to distinctive Congregationalism.

This New England idea may be briefly stated as preferring the substance to the form. The value of this conciliating element in combining other more inflexible and rigid elements in a new country for Christian work, can hardly be overestimated, and the influence for good which it has exerted in the West has been incalculably great. If now you tell me that the New Englanders were severe in their beliefs, and that they lived in an atmosphere of gloom, I say of them as Paul said to the church at Corinth: "What carefulness it wrought in them, what clearing of themselves, what earnestness, what fear, what zeal." The godly sorrow or the severe belief which produces such results cannot be very bad. We live in a time when brighter views of God's government are entertained; but the sterner beliefs of the

early New Englanders will not suffer in comparison, if tested by their power to produce those strong Christian virtues which are so earnestly insisted on in every part of the Word of God, and without which—if I read that Word aright—whether there be a Christ or no Christ, no man shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven. Had the New Englander's conception of God's government, justice, and holiness been less solemn than it was, had his standard of morality been lower than it was, the fruits of the civilization which he founded, and of the Christianity which he cherished, would not be so precious as they are even now.

Again, it was owing to New England ideas and the same conciliating spirit in politics that has characterized Congregationalists in religious work, that patriotic men in the South were made prominent as leaders in the struggle for our national independence, and that by a practical unity of the whole country, our independence was so early gained and a republican form of government established.

In the development of this government and the establishment of universal freedom, New England ideas, though for a time overpowered, have at last been triumphant. Was it an accident that within three months after that Dutch man-of-war had landed twenty negroes on the coast of Virginia, and they had been sold as slaves, the Mayflower appeared off the coast of Massachusetts bearing one hundred and two pilgrims? I see in the coming years the chains carried from Virginia to Texas, new links constantly forged and new victims manacled, until they are numbered by millions. But I see the institutions and principles of the Pilgrims, taking possession of New England, of the great Middle States, of the mighty Northwest, on to the shores of the Pacific; carried everywhere by the sturdy settlers who fell the forests and plant civilization; proclaimed and advocated from ten thousand pulpits, not of their faith only but of every Christian faith. As I watch these two forces, slavery and barbarism at the South, freedom and civilization in the North, moving along resistlessly in parallel lines across the continent, I see that one of these is the agent in God's hands for the destruc-

tion of the other. And when the irrepressible conflict came, as come it must, in that supreme moment of mortal agony, when a great nation plunged into a sea of blood for its own purification from a national crime, God, the God of our New England fathers, gave the victory to New England ideas, and secured, in name at least, to every man, woman, and child in the country, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the same freedom and the same rights which we, the children of New England, have always enjoyed. Whether this universal freedom shall in coming generations be the heritage of every child of the Republic, will depend upon the unity and firmness with which the children of New England shall stand by the ideas of New England.

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